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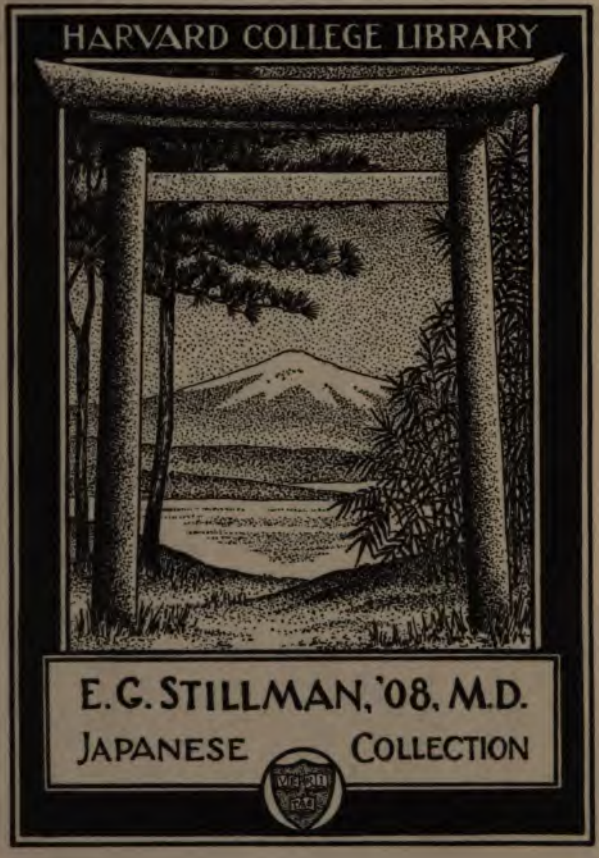

NOTES

ON

THE LATE EXPEDITION,

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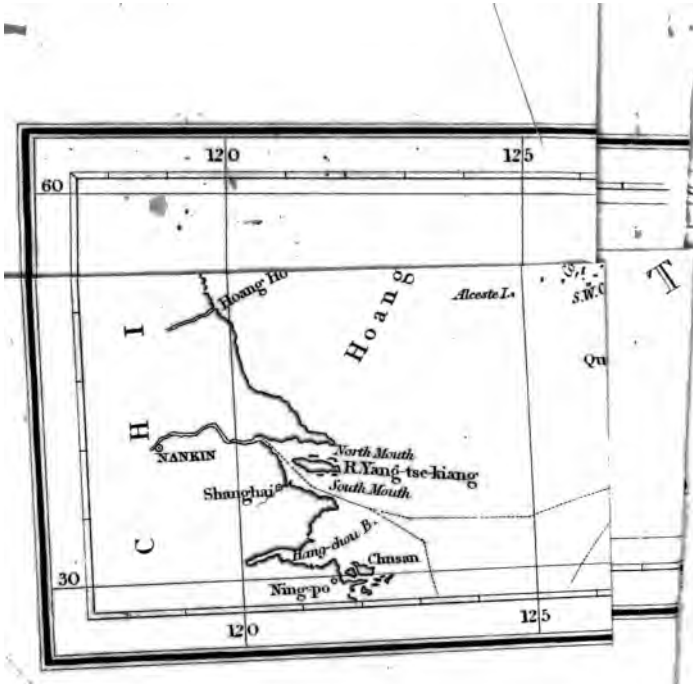
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NOTES

ON

THE LATE EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE

RUSSIAN SETTLEMENTS IN EASTERN SIBERIA;

AND OF A VISIT TO JAPAN AND TO THE SHORES OF TARTARY, AND OF THE SEA OF OKHOSTK.

BY

CAPT. BERNARD WHITTINGHAM,

ROYAL ENGINEERS.

LONDON:

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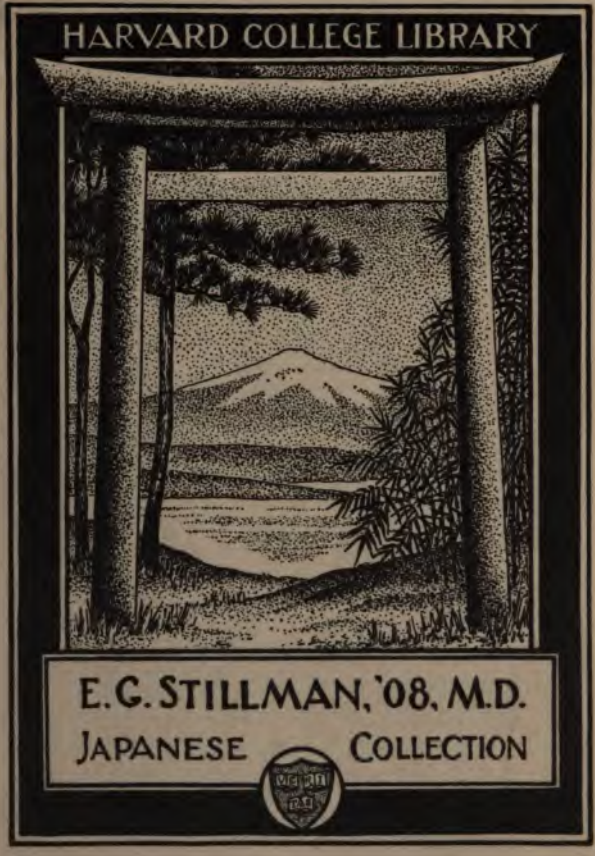

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PREFACE.

The following rough notes were originally pencilled at intervals of a few days, to refresh the recollections of their writer, and they have subsequently been copied amidst the bustle of the saloons of crowded Oriental steamers; and as the duties of the writer's profession preclude any attempt to remould or amplify them, they are offered in their present unpolished form, in the hope that the slight and meagre information they afford of lands comparatively unknown—the Japan Islands, and the shores of Tartary and Eastern Siberia—may interest the public. The manners and customs of the Japanese are exhibited in the light reflected from several interviews with

NOTES

ON

THE LATE EXPEDITION,

&c. &c.

Superiors. — Visit from the Lieut.-Governor. — Conversation. — Interview with the Harbour-Master. — Forms of Ceremonial. — Description of the Harbour-Master's Office. —Walk through the Town. — Difficulties thrown in the way of seeing the People. — Japanese Women. — Bazaars arranged. — The Objects exposed. — Description of the Town. — Bhuddist Temple. — Manage to get rid of Police Escort. — Gales of Wind. — Estimation of Merchants. — Another Visit from Harbour-Master. — Vessel seen. — Suspected to be Russian. — Visit to the Governor. — Appearance of high Officials. — Description of the Palace-temple of Governor.— Ceremonies.— Dignity of Governor.— Conversation. — Refreshments. — Interview shortened by Report of another strange Sail. — False Alarm. — Take long Walk in the Environs of Hakodadi. — Visit Bazaar.— Difficulties of Exchange. — Efforts to get Swords. — Their supposed good Temper. — Walk to neighbouring Hamlets.— Civilities of District Headman. — Settle Accounts with Harbour-Master and Merchants. — Sail from Hakodadi Page 13

CHAP. III.

Difficulty of getting Westward. — Distant View of Matsmai. — The Beauty of its Position. — Fine Peak of Risiri. — Glimpse of Sagalien. — Gale of Wind and Sleet. — Pass Cape Lamanon. — Go Ashore. — Deserted Hamlet. — Proceed further North. — Land. — Interview with Natives. — Description of them. — Large Black Bear caged. — Superstition of the Natives. — Their Worship of the Bear. — Anchor off Baie de la Jonquière. — Visit Settlement. — Coal found. — Stand across for De Castries Bay. — See Ships under Land. — Discovered to be Russian Squadron at Anchor. — Reconnoitred. — Force of the Enemy. — Steamer goes in to find Passage. — Description of Bay. — Position of Russian Ships. — Exchange Shots. — Find no Channel for Frigate.— Cruise off Mouth of Harbour. — Go to the South.

— Despatch Brig for Reinforcements. — Cruise. — Return to De Castries Bay. — Find it deserted. — Secrecy of it. — Land. — Signs of hasty Flight - - - Page 68

CHAP. IV.

Sail to the South. — Strange Sail at Night. — Quarters. — Stranger runs into Hornet. — An American. — Flagship seen and joined. — Cruising near Cape Crillon. — Land. — Reinforcements. — Go North again. — Slow Pace. — Again reach Baie de la Jonquière. — Squadron remains there. — Hasty Reconnoitre of the Head of Gulf of Tartary. — Squadron returns to Cape Crillon. — French Ships arrive. — Departure of Flagship for Japan - - - - - 100

CHAP. V.

Allied Squadron left at Cape Crillon. — Further Objects to be attained. — State of French Frigate Sibylle. — Anchor in Aniwa Bay. — Fishing Station of Japanese. — Inspect it. — Japanese Rule over Southern Sagalien despotic. — Fertility of the Island. — La Sibylle proceeds to the South, the Squadron to the North. — Sea of Okhotsk. — Perpetual Fogs. — Coldness of its Waters. — Evidences of the Discharge of a large Body of fresh Water. — Distance of the River Amùr. — Its Current encountered. — Fall in with H. M. S. Barracouta. — History of the Doings of the Pacific Squadrons. — Off extreme Northern Point of Sagalien. — Currents. — Deception of Obman Bay. — Endeavour to enter Gulf of the Amùr. — Difficulties. — Saw a Brig inside. — Its Movements indicative of being Russian. — Further Trials to find Passage. — Soundings. — Try the Western Shore. — Approach near Brig. — Deserted and set on Fire. — Visited. — Half the Crew captured. — Information from Prisoners - - - - - - 119

CHAP. VI.

Steer towards Aian. — Fogs. — Arrival at Aian. — Its Appearance. — Is deserted. — Land. — Information derived from chief Factor. — Dig for buried Guns and Stores. — Ill Success of Search. — Find concealed China. — Use of Settlement to Russia. — The Natives. — Archbishop. — Interview with him. — Barracouta leaves Squadron. — Returns with half of the Diana's shipwrecked Crew. — Sick Russians put on Shore. — Salmon and Trout caught. — Landing of Seamen. — Reflections. — Sail again for Cape Elizabeth. — Meet H. M. S. Encounter. — Southwards through Sea of Okhotsk. — Arrive at Aniwa Bay. — Skirt Shores of Sagalien, and Risiri and Rifunsiri Islands. — Conduct and Appearance of Russian Prisoners. — Distance at which Capes were visible. — Pass Matsmai. — Enter Sangar Straits. — Arrive at Hakodadi - Page 135

CHAP. VII.

Visit of Harbour-Master. — The Comings and Goings of the Ships confuse him. — Changed Appearance of the Port. — Proceed into the Country in Boats. — Villages continuous. — Inhabitants civil. — Fly-fishing. — Astonishment of the Natives. — Matrons and Maids. — Early Marriages. — Visit to Governor. — The Garden of the Temple. — French Sick lodged in a Temple. — Its Priest. — Apparent essential Ceremonies. — Tea-gardens. — Freedom permitted to unmarried Women. — The Governor visits the Frigate. — Retinue and State. — "The Illustrated News" invariably chief Topic of Conversation. — European Ladies' Dresses and Dancing incomprehensible. — Ideas of Architecture. — Luncheon. — Habits of Eating. — Powers of Drinking. — Curiosity and Intelligence of Governor. — Differences of Costume between Chinese and Japanese. — Walk into the Country. — Island of Yezzo. — Late Conquest by Japanese.

—Interior inhabited by Ainos.—Description of Ainos.—Wealth of Country - - - - Page 159

CHAP. VIII.

Leave Hakodadi.—"Beating" out.—Outsail Consort.—Gale of Wind in the Pacific.—Shores of Nipon.—Islands off the Bay of Yeddo.—Active Volcano.—Appearance of Land near Simoda.—Reach Simoda.—Badly chosen Port.—Difficult of Access.—Small.—Loss of Russian Frigate Diana.—Details of Russian Movements.—Russians escape.—Build a Vessel.—Distress of the Shipwrecked Officers.—Their Accounts of Japan.—American Treaty.—Russian Treaty.—Sail to the South.—The magnificent Spectacle presented by Fitsujama Mountain.—Japanese Group happily situated.—Evidences of its Wealth and Fertility.—Van Diemen's Strait.—Its Current.—Clusters of Volcanic Islands.—Active Volcano.—Island of Kiusu.—Its Government.—Importance.—Distant View of South-western Shores of Japan.—Island of Amakusu.—Christians.—Conduct of Dutch.—Nagasaki to Windward - - 187

CHAP. IX.

Nagasaki Harbours.—Defences.—Signs of high Cultivation.—Cordons of Boats still used against Foreigners.—Uncivil Treatment of English Officers by Japanese Authorities.—Ill Effects of a bad Treaty.—Climate in Summer.—Difficulties in obtaining Refreshments or Provisions for the Ships.—Exercise Ground given.—Attempts to alter the undignified Position of a Great Power.—Law made since Captain Pellew's Visit in 1808.—Visit to the Governor.—Steam Tender employed.—Accompanied by Native Boats.—Description of Boats.—Inner Harbour.—Dutch Ships of War.—City of Nagasaki.—Dezima.—Interview.—Less Politeness than at Hakodadi.—Old Feelings of Contempt

kept alive. — Talents of Japanese in conducting Conversations.—Refreshments.—The Endeavours to get the Terms of the Convention carried out foiled. — Return from Interview. — Dutch Commodore visits English Commodore privately.—English and French Admirals arrive at Nagasaki.—At so late a Season another Expedition sent to the Amùr.—Its Chances of Success. — Mistakes made during the two last Summers. — Prospects for next Campaign. — Russian Prisoners request to be landed. — The Conditions. — Fruitless Negotiation. — Trade with Japan. — Difficulties of Exchange.— Causes. — Probable Consumption of Woollen and Cotton Fabrics. — Copper Mines — Less valuable. — Require the Aid of Science and superior Mechanics. — Missionary Field. — Caution. — Medical Missionaries. — Benefit to be derived from Resident Diplomatic Agents. — Regrets at leaving Japan after so short a Glimpse. — Advantages possessed by the Japanese - - Page 210

CHAP. X.

Leave Nagasaki in Steamer under Sail. — Gale of Wind. — Fruitless Attempt to put back under Steam. — Run before the Gale.—Approach the Yang-tse-Kiang.—Shanghai.—Aspect the Year before when held by the Rebels. — State of the Rebellion. — The Christianity professed by "the Brethren." — New Testament Distribution. — Leave Shanghai. — Hong Kong. — Increase. — Coasts of Cochin China. — Singapore. — Chinese Monopolies. — Industrial Trades. — Cultivated Interior of Island. — Pulo Penang. — Its Beauty. — Partially destroyed. — Waterfall. — Fort. — Ceylon. — Richness of Cocoa-nut Trees. — Chinese Emigration proposed. — Old Fort. — Promenade. — Lady Overboard. — Endeavours to find her fruitless. — Aden. — Its Strength. — Its Aridity. — Shores of Red Sea. — Suez. — Desert Roads. —Cairo. — Its peculiar Character.— Gardens. — Railroad. — Alexandria. — M. de Lesseps' Scheme of a Canal from Peluse to Suez. — Advantages to Egypt. — Effect upon our

Eastern Possessions. — English Policy. — Strength of the Defences of Alexandria. — Malta. — French and English Soldiers in the Cafés. — Improvements in the Works. — Maltese Architecture. — Gibraltar. — Its Strength discussed. — Tarifa. — Cintra. — Reach Southampton - Page 245

APPENDIX I.

On the Repulse at Petropaulski.—Its Causes, unknown to the Public — Mystified. — Losses caused by this System. — The Question to be answered. — The apparent Incomprehensibility of this Failure. — The Operations at Petropaulski and De Castries Bay compared - - 295

APPENDIX II.

Suggestions for future Operations in the Gulf of Tartary. — Whence good Charts are obtainable. — Description of Ships to be used. — Light Steamers with heavy Guns. — Colliers. — Blockade of Northern Entrance to the Gulf of Amùr. — The Employment of Troops seemingly useless. — Hopes of early News from Gulf of Tartary. — Lesson taught last Spring - - - - - - 298

NOTES

ON

THE LATE EXPEDITION,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Object of the Writer in joining Naval Expedition. — Its Prospects. — Leave Hong Kong. — Mildness of this Winter in Southern China. — Sail along Shores of Formosa. — Currents found in the Pacific. — Aerolite of extraordinary Brilliancy seen. — Approach Straits of Corea. — First Whale Ship seen. — Drift past Japanese Island. — Its Cultivation. — Appearance of the Habitations. — Man overboard. — Commodore's former saving of a Seaman's Life. — Enter Sea of Japan. — Gradual cooling of Sea-water. — Reach Straits of Sangar. — Snow on the Hills. — Excitement consequent on entering Japanese Port for first time.

In the month of March of this year, the gradual increase in the number of the English and French frigates lying in the fine harbour of Hong Kong betokened a speedy termination to the inactivity of the allied squadrons

in the Eastern Seas, and once more awakened the sentiments of pride and hope which, since the declaration of war last year, the apparently aimless movements and ill success of our naval forces on the north-eastern shores of Asia had repressed.

I was then on the eve of relinquishing the command of the Royal Engineers at Hong Kong; and recollecting the circumstances of the disastrous repulse at Petropaulowski in the preceding autumn, I considered it my duty to offer my services, with the concurrence of the officer commanding the troops, to the admiral. His Excellency stated that he had no idea of attacking any of the Russian ports in the East; and I should have given up all thoughts of joining the squadron, had I not received a kind invitation from Commodore the Hon. C. Elliot to take a cruise with him, and had I not been convinced that it was incompatible with our interests and our honour to allow a second summer to pass away without an attempt to discover the progress of Russian aggrandisement in North-eastern Asia, and to ascertain how far the reports of her successful encroachment

on the sea frontiers of China and Japan were true.

On the latter point the information was most meagre; so much so, that the slight and clever article in Fraser's Magazine of January or February last was read with avidity by the chief officers of the squadron: the other sources of information were the scanty records of missionary visits, and conversations with the plenipotentiary and diplomatic officers of the United States. From the intercourse which had lately been held between the American minister and the Russian envoy to Japan, Vice-Admiral Puniatin, it was evident that there had been no very careful concealment of the position and prospects of Russia in the East, and it was occasionally possible to elicit some striking facts indicative of the rapid consolidation of her conquests along the fertile valley of the Amùr, which stretches nearly 2000 miles in the temperate zone into the heart of Asia.

Elate with hope, and looking forward confidently to successful service, I embarked, on the 7th April, on board H.M.S. Sibylle as a visitor, and found that an advanced squa-

dron, consisting of that frigate, the steam corvette Hornet, and the brig Bittern, were to sail that day for the North. The pleasure of leaving the tropics, the delight of being soon employed on active service, and the certain distinction to be gained under their popular commander, was visible in the radiant countenances and zealous activity of the officers and men of the Sibylle,—every omen seemed auspicious, and, with a fresh breeze, the frigate and her consorts soon made a recall impossible.

The winter was nearly over, and what a dry, equable, and temperate winter it is! comparable to the same season in Egypt or Malaga. In six months we had rain only on six days, and that in partial non-tropical showers: now every day the sudden change of temperature caused by the conquest of the south-west monsoon over the strong breezes from the North was expected; but we seemed for some days to be on the neutral ground, and lay nearly becalmed, close to the bold romantic shores of the island of Formosa—the Beautiful—so well named by the Portuguese. The aboriginal islanders are supposed to have re-

sisted the Chinese for centuries, and now still hold the mountains, leaving the lowlands on the western shores to their Chinese assailants: unconquered they descend sometimes from their fastnesses, and devastate the rich crops of their more civilised enemies. The Eastern shores are rocky and precipitous, and the mountains rise abruptly, well wooded and green, and with forms of magnificent outlines.

Emerging from the China Sea, southerly breezes, on the Pacific, with a strong northerly current, gave us a rapid passage along the ever-beautiful coast of this great island, and the genial temperature, ranging from 70° to 78° Fahr., and the never-ceasing interest in watching the varying sailing powers of our consorts, as the winds veered or increased, and as the sea rose or was calm, rendered my first week's cruise in a sailing vessel most agreeable; indeed, for many months the pleasure of looking at the Hornet, with her exquisite form and quick sailing properties, and of sharing, as far as a thorough landsman might, the admiration of the seamen for the skill and readiness with which the Bittern was handled, never palled. The Sibylle, heavily laden with

six months' provisions, and with as much powder and shot as she could carry, staggering under all sail before the wind, could only keep in advance by her consorts "giving her" royals, and often top-gallant sails likewise.

On the 16th, at twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock, the largest and most brilliant aerolite I have ever seen, very bright, and burning with a clear blue flame around a deep red centre, fell, or seemed to fall, between the Sibylle and the Hornet, which were about 400 yards apart; and the next time "we communicated," we found that from the Hornet it seemed to have fallen near us: I never saw one so near to me before, nor the evidences of combustion so apparently sure.

The following day we saw long low islands, and fancied the nearest to be Koumi, one of the Madjicosima group: an observation at noon proved the islands to be Fia-yusu and Hou-pin-su, eighty miles more to the north. Such are the currents of these seas, that even with a patent log overboard, and before a constant breeze, the want of a couple of daily observations must throw great uncertainty on the whereabouts of a ship; and every one

must wish "God speed" to Lieut. Maury, of the U. S. Navy, in his persevering and enlightened endeavours to procure good observations on which to found a more perfect system of current charts.

In the afternoon a vessel was seen crossing our path, at a great distance; it was "made out" an American man-of-war, and was conjectured to be the Vincennes, *en route* to the Loo-Choo Islands, which group she was to survey: the only other ship yet seen at sea was an American clipper, which amused itself by keeping near us for some hours on the 11th, and showing off her paces to the overloaded Sibylle.

Continuing to run before light southerly breezes, we ascertained that the temperature of the sea was gradually getting much cooler than that of the air, already somewhat raised by the southerly winds; and on the 19th we ran into the first of the long series of fogs which were to accompany our northern progress.

The fogs chilled our temperature from a range of 70° to 78° Fahr. to a range of 60° to 66°, the latter height being generally attained at noon for many days. The change from the

clear pure air of the tropics did not seem to affect the health of the crew, to which, from the habits of seamen, nothing seems more obnoxious than a continuance of damp or wet weather. We lost sight of our consorts, and for a few days were dependent on gongs, bells, bugles, and occasional guns for keeping together; a glimpse once or twice a day also aiding the performance of this necessary duty, which was made more difficult by frequent calms of short duration.

On the 22nd the Gotto islands and rocks were in sight; and, as we still continued to steer northwards, the eager desire of seeing Nagasaki, which we supposed was to be our first port, very soon merged into the greater pleasure of there being less delay in our advance.

The air became much cooler and clearer as we approached the Straits of Corea; and, in consonance with the weather, the first whale ship was seen on the same day; and henceforth the eye seldom rested on the water without a searching glance for the traces or spouting of the hotly and far pursued monster of the deep.

A heavy squall at night raised an angry sea, with most phosphorescently illuminated waves. The whole break of the wave consisted of bright sparkling spangles, which seemed to shine, even after the subsidence of the wave, through the foamy surface.

A light northerly wind, "breathing whence it stole those 'icy' sweets," baffled our efforts to get through the Straits on the 23rd. We endeavoured to pass between the island of Tsu-sima (sima means island in the Japanese language, and may, therefore, in future stand for its English synonyme) and the peninsula of Corea; the breeze almost died, and we drifted slowly past the green, fertile, hilly island, cultivated in terraces to the crests of the hills, and which, as the first Japanese scene we had looked on, riveted our attention. Though we were too distant to see the vesture or bearing of the inhabitants, still their thatched cottages and fishing-stations had the appearance of civilisation and some look of comfort.

In the afternoon my host and I were reading in the cabin, when a cry was heard from the deck, with a rushing of feet, and the pecu-

liar sounds of ropes running fast through blocks and off cleats. I, turning, rose to go on deck; saw my friend in the act of ridding himself of his jacket, and lowering the sash of the stern window preparatory to going out of it. He had not said a word. In a moment we saw the life-buoy floating away from the ship; yet no one was to be seen in the water. Whilst he was thus resting for a second ready to spring as soon as a sight of a man was obtained, we heard from the deck that "two were swimming," and on getting there saw the man who had fallen, and a shipmate who had jumped overboard, swimming with ease to the buoy. They happened to be both good swimmers; and, as the day was not cold, they did not suffer any inconvenience.

The modesty and resolution of the commodore's character struck me much to-day, though I had read the record of his noble daring some months previously at Singapore, where, in a harbour infested by sharks, on hearing the same cry, he at once leapt from his cabin window and saved the life of a fine young seaman who could not swim. I feel that my allusion to these circumstances will

pain him, but it is a pleasure I cannot refuse myself.

The subsequent day, before a fresh southerly wind, we ran into the sea of Japan; and as it was clear, because cold, weather, our consorts and the Sibylle tried their rates of sailing under the unfavourable circumstances of overloading for the frigate, though so far favourable for Symonite brig and frigate, inasmuch as the sea was smooth: in twelve hours the Bittern had gained six miles and the Hornet two.

The thermometer daily sank, the range now being from 48° to 60°, with cuttingly cold wind, especially at night. The barometer astonished us by rising for southerly winds, which, however, we subsequently thought accounted for by finding that it blew from this quarter almost as constantly as a monsoon, and brought heat to these lands covered with snow for many months. On the 26th we saw an American whale ship cruising under easy sail, and a large dead whale floated by us, covered with birds of ill looks, and tainting the breeze for many minutes.

We had seen nothing of the shores of Japan

since leaving Tsu-sima. Shortly after midnight on the 27th we found ourselves near high land, which at daylight proved to be Cape Greig, a bold rocky projection from the bluffs on the north-west coast of the island of Nipon. We ran still before a southerly breeze until we entered the Straits of Sangar, where we met light airs, and through mist and fog discovered traces of hills, and lofty mountains covered with snow. On the northern island of Yezo, and on both sides of the rapid strait, headlands and mountains peered above the fog: the icy wind seemed to blow through our tropically roasted frames; but Japan—the mysterious, the inhospitable—was before us; and, as we entered the capacious harbour of Hakodadi, so many new and strange objects met the eye, that the fine mountain scenery around us was barely glanced at. We delightedly heard the anchor drop at noon on the 29th, and anxiously awaited the arrival of the Japanese officials.

CHAP. II.

Description of the Harbour of Hakodadi. — Fine Mountain Scenery.—Extinct Volcano. — Numerous Fishing-Boats. — Train of Ponies carrying Merchandise. — Japanese *kill* no Animals.—Exemplified by Tameness of Sea-Gulls and Wild Ducks. — Astonishment expressed by Japanese on being asked for Beef. — Visit of Harbour-Master. — Description of his Boat. — Ensign of the official Position of Occupier. — Astonishment of Japanese at the Appearance of the Interpreters addressing them in pure Japanese. — Demand for Provisions. — Refusal to give Meat. — Prostration before Superiors. — Visit from the Lieut.-Governor. — Conversation. — Interview with the Harbour-Master. — Forms of Ceremonial. — Description of the Harbour-Master's Office. —Walk through the Town. — Difficulties thrown in the way of seeing the People. — Japanese Women. — Bazaars arranged. — The Objects exposed. — Description of the Town. — Bhuddist Temple. — Manage to get rid of Police Escort. — Gales of Wind. — Estimation of Merchants. — Another Visit from Harbour Master. — Vessel seen. — Suspected to be Russian. — Visit to the Governor. — Appearance of high Officials. — Description of the Palace-temple of Governor.—Ceremonies.—Dignity of Governor.— Conversation. — Refreshments. — Interview shortened by Report of another strange Sail.—False Alarm. — Take long Walk in the Environs of Hakodadi.—Visit Bazaar.—Difficulties of Exchange. — Efforts to get Swords. — Their supposed good Temper.—Walk to neighbouring Hamlets.— Civilities of District Headman. — Settle Accounts with Harbour-Master and Merchants. — Sail from Hakodadi.

BEFORE our anxiously expected visitors come, let us look around us for a few minutes. The

ship lies in a noble bay, a segment of a circle four miles broad east and west, and five deep north and south. To the southward, narrowing the entrance to a width of two miles, stretches a rocky, hilly peninsula, forming a semi-chord to the arc; the face of the peninsula turned to us, slopes steeply to the bay, and along its lower levels the houses of the town of Hakodadi are built; above them green hill-sides, with belts of pine and beech, dotted with gardens and temples, rise to peaks of various elevations, the highest being about 1200 feet. This peninsula is connected by a long and narrow sandy isthmus to the island.

Following the curve of the shore, a narrow space of level ground, planted, cultivated, and sprinkled thickly with villages, hamlets, and farms embowered each in trees, separates the finely swelling and rich uplands from the sea; whilst ridges of hills, and the bold outlines of mountains, rise above each other in grander magnitudes and nobler dimensions; and further and higher, solitarily, and towering in snow-clad majesty above all, rises the sublime peak of an extinct volcano.

Fishing-boats line the shore, or with white

sails are specking the deep blue of the wide straits; trains of ponies carrying produce and merchandise are crossing each other on the numerous roads leading to the town; herds of small bullocks are feeding on the lower lands; and, rarer sight still, around us on the water, above us on the yards, or close alongside the frigate, quietly repose sea-gulls: never injured by man, they fearlessly approach the large ship, and expect and dread no harm.

I was much struck by this corroboration of the assertion that the Japanese kill no animals: unhappily, their code deals not so humanely with man; and human life seems as little venerated in Japan, as animal life is in more civilised countries. How they reconcile with this law, the immense and wholesale destruction of salmon and herring, and other fish, which, dried, salted, or fresh, forms with rice the principal nourishment of all classes, I never could get explained; a very "human" inconsistency, which I never had the courage to urge in mitigation of their well-bred expressions of astonishment when bullocks were demanded as necessaries of life: these demands were first met by doubts of their

understanding us, and then by gently hinted horror at such cannibalism.

I felt ashamed; I suppose Thomson's lines had once run through my head, and left some half-regrets behind.

> "He whose toil,
> Patient and ever ready, clothes the land
> With all the pomp of harvest; shall he bleed,
> And struggling groan beneath the cruel hands
> Even of the clown he feeds!"

Or rather, as this was nearly the identical reasoning of the Japanese, the lines recurred on hunting for them.

Soon after the ships had come to anchor, a boat was seen pulling away from the shore, and presently the wild and rough notes of the men labouring at the oars riveted our attention on a long, low, sharp-prowed boat, propelled by six men standing to their oars and using them as a single oar in a punt is worked by us; a long spear, with its steel head covered with leather, was held erect in the prow, indicative of the rank and official dignity of our visitor. Amidst much bustle and noise the boatmen got alongside the

frigate, and four officials climbed up the sides and presented themselves on the deck.

Short, dark, with small black eyes, oblique *à la Chinoise*, with high cheek bones, and somewhat flattened noses, and protruding lips, they were not unlike Chinamen: their forms were more robust, and clothed in several robes of cotton and silk, resembling dressing-gowns, except that the lower portions of their dresses were merged within silken petticoat-trowsers: their feet were encased in cloth or woollen socks, closely fitting, and with separate fingers for the great digits, and stood in straw shoes, fastened classically by thongs of white rope or twisted straw: a large silken sash round the loins, in which were placed the greater and lesser swords, for murder or suicide, as required, completed their costumes. The head also is not adorned quite *à la Chinoise;* for the whole front of the head is not shaven, only the top, having the hair long at the sides and back, which being gathered together is made into a queue, stiffened with grease and ointment, and turned back so as to lie upon the bare top of the head.

The Japanese, whom the commodore had brought with him from the newspaper printing office at Hong Kong, requested the officials to walk down to the cabin, and they could not conceal their astonishment at being addressed in their own tongue, by a man to all appearance to them an European, for our interpreter was not very Japanese in look, but rather more like a Manilla-man, or an Indo-Spaniard.

On being seated, one of the officials, speaking in very tolerable English, announced that the great man present was the harbour-master of Hakodadi; and he presented a copy of the port regulations in Dutch and Japanese, and demanded the names, tonnage, flags, and complements of the crews of the three ships.

As each question and reply was made, two of the officials (having produced from the folds of their robes rolls of paper and taken from their girdles the pendant cases resembling spectacle cases, which contain their reed pencils and ink) minutely, and evidently word by word, took them down.

This port's regulations had been framed in accordance with the provisions of the American

treaty, Hakodadi having been one of the ports chosen by that power and opened by it to the rest of the Western World.

Whilst the necessary translation of these regulations was in progress between the two interpreters,—for ours could not read his native language when written,—mutual examinations of dress and manners silently passed on both sides. Our friends were not much at their ease, seated on sofas or chairs; and with rounded backs, bent heads, and downcast eyes, and occasional furtive glances from the corners of their eyes, they looked incarnations of cunning and curiosity; if by chance their eyes met ours, their looks were instantly thrown down.

As this situation of things was uncomfortable, I took from the table some numbers of the "Illustrated London News," and tried to interest the worthy harbour-master in them. They puzzled him, however, excessively, until some sketches of last year's proceedings at Nagasaki arrested his glance; when, losing a little of the intense solemnity incumbent on a Japanese authority in the exercise of his functions, he called the attention of the secre-

taries or spies; and all three soon gathered round the tables in animated discussion on the likenesses exhibited in the illustrations. Explanations were then demanded, and our interpreter's aid called in.

I took the opportunity of conversing with the other interpreter, and found that since the signing of the American treaty several of the Japanese Dutch interpreters had been required by their government to learn English, and my informant, having been one of the quickest learners, had received the post of chief interpreter at Hakodadi. In truth, he appeared to possess greater intelligence than his superiors, and was most anxious to master the English language. I offered him some books, which he at first accepted with thanks; but subsequently, as I spoke of it again before the others, he declined to take them until he had received the permission of the governor.

When the illustrations had received what our friends deemed sufficient attention, they returned them with an inclination of the head and reseated themselves, as if ready to hear what the commodore had to say. "Water, vegetables, fruits, fresh meat, eggs, and fish,"

were the objects first requested. The subject of fresh meat required several elucidatory questions and answers, doubts of the meaning of the demand being followed by exchanged glances of half-suppressed astonishment, and terminating in the enunciation of the law of the empire, which forbids killing animals. With respect to the other demands, the harbour-master said that he would make an examination of the means that the merchants and fishermen had of supplying them.

He also seemed anxious to know for what purpose the ships had come, where they were going to, and how long they were to remain. These questions were put in different words and were several times repeated.

Tea was then handed round; the sugar apparently drew forth remarks of approbation. The saucers, however, being below instead of above the cup, *à la Japonnaise*, were embarrassing, and the spoons added to their difficulties. On resuming conversation, the commodore proposed paying his respects to the governor, and asked the harbour-master to convey his wish to do so. The official replied that he would do so immediately, and that a

reply should be sent the following day. The commodore expressed the pleasure he had felt in receiving the harbour-master on board, who courteously thanked him, and bowing, retired with his retinue.

During this interview, the Japanese boatmen had got on board, and were found on deck by the officials; they instantly sank on their knees, prostrating their bodies till their foreheads touched the deck, and so remained until sharply motioned to their boat: in the same posture the dignitary was received on entering his boat; as soon as he was seated, up the men rose, and recommencing their shrill cries and pulling at their oars, steered to the shore.

The next morning, a bright sun shining and a cold north-easterly wind blowing over the snow-covered mountains, a procession of boats was seen leaving the trading wharfs, with numerous spears at the bows, and the black and white ensigns of Japan flying from several parts of the boats. One gondola-like barge with twenty oars contained, in its central covered cabin, some great functionary; and the cries of the boatmen were louder and

quicker than those of the previous day. From the largest boat, on its getting alongside, stepped an elderly man with eight or nine other two-sworded and well-dressed individuals, amidst the prostrated crew, and actively went up the side.

The commodore was on deck, and received his visitor there, a very benevolent-looking, little old man, who with great *bonhommie* returned our bows by the Japanese salutation of pressing the closed hands to each other on the breast and bowing slightly at the same time. It was the lieutenant-governor, sent by the governor as the bearer of compliments and a message. He and his suite were conducted below, and four Japanese seated themselves, the remainder not being of sufficient dignity to sit in the presence of the lieutenant-governor. The cunning countenance of the harbour-master was immediately recognised amongst the sitters; and apparently he was the lowest in rank. In dress there seems to be no mark of rank,—all the superior officials being well dressed in silks and gauzes, each bearing his own crest embroidered on his robes, except domestic offi-

cers, who use the crests of their lords,—for feudality is the law of Japan.

Two interpreters accompanied the lieutenant-governor, through whom,—speaking to them in low tones, which were listened to in attitudes of humblest respect,—he expressed "his hopes that the commodore and ships were well;" and through his own interpreter the commodore's part of the following colloquy was played. "Very well,—thank the lieutenant-governor for his politeness."—"The crews have had a very long voyage." "Yes."—"How many days?" "Twenty-one."—"The lieutenant-governor is glad to see the commodore." "The commodore is glad to receive the lieutenant-governor."—"The officers and men may go on shore in small parties, landing at the harbour-master's wharf." "We shall avail ourselves of the permission."—"No tipsy sailors are to go on shore." "If sailors get tipsy, the police may bring them off."—"The governor has been lately appointed, and only arrived with all the necessary officers some days ago. He has no house yet, as Hakodadi was formerly only a small place under the Prince of Matsmai, and only lately made

an imperial city. Perhaps the commodore would not object to be received in a temple?" "I shall be happy to wait upon the governor in any place he pleases to appoint."—"Has the commodore any children on board?" "None; he is not married."—"Has the commodore come in place of the admiral?" "No."—"What is the difference of rank?" "The Admiral gives his orders to commodore." The worthy old gentleman then gave us a Japanese version of the earthquake at Simoda, and of the subsequent loss of the Diana: he said nothing of the whereabouts of the unfortunate wrecked ship (Russian), and turned from the subject when he found it was listened to, perhaps too attentively to lead him on; although, I imagine, diplomatic tact and talents are common enough in Japan, governed through spies by an ultra-Venetian oligarchy.

The merry old man preferred sweet wine to good tea and white sugar,—a taste, I presume, creditable to his *métier*, which we subsequently heard was that of a general. He was shown the noble maindeck and guns of the Sibylle, and appeared to understand the use of guns and small-arms. Whenever he ap-

peared, down went his countrymen on their knees with bent heads; and he made his exit from the ship, after paying many compliments to the commodore, amidst a lane of prostrated officials.

Casks of water soon began to be received on board from the water-boats, and the decks of the ship were animated by groups of one-robed and non-trowsered boatmen, with sprinklings of inferior two-sworded officials with petticoats,—pantelets of silk or satin; each class was to be seen in every part of the ship, and Jack's curiosity had every means of gratification.

In the afternoon, the commodore and two commanders went ashore, landing at the pier indicated as the proper landing-place. The steps and pier were formed of cut stone, uncemented and unmortared, and were very creditable specimens of the building art. We were received by several officials, and conducted to an adjoining house, where we saw the harbour-master with two assistants, sitting with dignified discomfort on stools, and we were motioned to a wooden bench *en face*. Tea was handed round after a few compliments;

it was very weak, hot, and much inferior to that of China. The room in which we sat had been reached by ascending a flight of half a dozen wooden steps, which extend in front of the building, and lead to a verandah, retired from which stood the room; it was about twenty feet long by twelve wide, and formed by heavy wooden pillars and connected panels, which on two sides were moveable,—a plan enabling several rooms to form one, if required: and this room, small as it was, had been enlarged by the withdrawal of panels across its length. The windows are formed by light frames of wood, into which pieces of thin white-brown paper are placed instead of glass, being battened on the inside of the house; whilst outside similar frames with deal panes are placed. In rainy or windy weather the external windows are closed, and light only enters from the verandah. The ceilings were formed of thin deal, and were about ten feet high; the floors were covered with mats two deep, on which a Japanese never treads with his shoes on, but deposits them in the verandah.

We had a little conversation about the

interview with the governor, and a rough plan of a temple was shown us, on which were marked the places to be occupied by the visitors and the visited, and by the guards and troops of both; it was nicely and clearly drawn on thin paper.

We were anxious to get at once into the town, and therefore closed our interview as speedily as possible, and bowed ourselves out. The outside was thronged by a multitude of brown forms with eager curious eyes, their figures only half covered by their robes of cotton, and their heads crowned by their squirrel-like tails. The chief object of curiosity was our interpreter. That he should be dressed like us, and yet talk to them, seemed to the populace the wonder of wonders: they touched his clothes; inquired as to their material, manufacture, and use; and caught the ends of his silk tie, and again and again demanded its object; and when informed of it, their hilarity was unbounded. Their own robes leave the neck and half the breast bare; yet that would not account for the perpetual jokes afterwards ever ready to spring on the sight of the neckerchief. Hanging is, I believe, un-

known to them, — a sword and decapitation being the remedies of Japanese justice. The only solution our interpreter ever deigned to give was, that his countrymen were foolish.

When we had pushed through this crowd and beyond the wooden palings of the custom-house grounds, we saw a wide long street stretching to our right and left, and policemen busy making signs to the people to close their doors and windows; and as we strolled on, turn which way we would, policemen were to be seen in front of us motioning to all to get out of sight. A *cortége* of the same useful body accompanied us in the van, at our sides, and in our rear. They were civil as possible to us, though evidently threatening their fellow-citizens in cases where disobedient curiosity got the better of the deep respect for authority so well inoculated into the Japanese system. An occasional rapid turn round enabled us to catch a view of the groups re-issuing from their houses after we had passed; and as the police did not object to this manner of breaking the municipal order of the day, as long as we obeyed the letter, they connived at our evading it most effectu-

ally, and I thus had an opportunity for recording my first impressions of the Japanese fair.

Just arrived from the tropics, the ruddy, too ruddy cheeks, red lips, and eyes bright with health, struck me most; the face and features are rather too Mongolian; their forms are full and tall, the skin fair; small uncompressed stockingless feet, and luxuriant hair, and white and even teeth, complete the number of the charms of the young and unmarried: the married blacken their teeth, and destroy other charms most ruthlessly, which I at first imagined proceeded from the jealousy of their lords, but subsequently hearing that a man's momentary dislike permits him to send away his wife, and that Japanese dames may vie in renown with the buried matrons of republican Rome, I was at a loss to guess a cause, until I incidentally heard that any official seeing a pretty woman married to an inferior, and wishing it, may take her to his home as an additional wife. I hope that neither of these causes of divorce are common; indeed my walks in the country led me eventually to think that they are not usual,

as I saw rosy blooming children rushing out of almost every cottage door.

The police showed us a temple, in one of the outhouses of which were ranged such articles as the shopkeepers thought we would be most naturally tempted to buy; lacquer ware, of purest and rarest colours, china, transparent and light as wine-biscuit, curious and quaint old jars, little cabinets of perfect lacquer, fans, silks, and gauzes, were exposed to view; and we promised ourselves early and frequent visits to the bazaar, where, as we were assured, still rarer specimens of Japanese industry would be produced: the temple was an old Buddhist fane, with some very fine alto-relievo carvings in wood, but less rich and grotesquely elaborate than the Buddhist temples of China.

We passed into the garden, where, into a space eighty feet by fifty, were crowded dwarfed trees of numerous kinds, rocks, streams, paths, bridges, ponds, and flowers: the effect was pleasing, from a rude harmony which reigned in the arrangements of this childish pleasure-ground; and it evidently afforded relief and delight to the old priests

who live in the temple. We saw the dwarf plum, peach, and pear in blossom, and bearing very large blossoms. It is these little *pleasaunces* attached to so many houses, and their being generally built on the slopes of hills, that give a peculiar charm to the appearance of Japanese towns, when seen from the sea.

The streets of Hakodadi are regular, wide, and clean; the houses are the quaintest things that ever haunted a builder's dreams; the frames are of squared timber posts, connected by laths of pine, and covered or sheeted with fragments of birch bark; the gables are generally towards the street, and have rustic verandahs in front, and often have a small loft above the low ceiling of the principal rooms, or, more frequently, room: the roof is constructed of light rafters of fir, over which pieces of bark are laid; and the roof and house look as if kept in their sites by the large stones placed on each piece of bark on the roof;—a lighted straw, or a gale of wind, and all must vanish, one thinks! A large proportion of the houses are shops, amongst which those of the fishmongers' fraternity are the best supplied and most numerous; and where butchers and

poulterers are unknown, I presume they are the first tradesmen. Soles, mackerel, trout, and grilse were exhibited in not uncleanly guise: at the fruiterers', pears, large as turnips, and watery and tasteless; beans, peas, tomatos, sweet potatoes, radish, and carrots, were the things in season. We also "assisted" at the manufacture of a plough at the blacksmith's, and saw the result—a large bifurcated spade.

In the middle of the streets were strings of ponies, awaiting the loading of their packs; they were hardy little creatures of thirteen or fourteen hands, badly shaped, goose-quartered, and cat-hammed, and of a dirty yellow chesnut colour, with large coarse heads. Small thin bullocks were likewise standing in the middle of the street for sale, as teams for the plough, I believe.

To the dogs, to the natives a quiet and sleepy race, we were always objects of curiosity, mingled with dread: as soon as they saw a European dress, they would utter most dismal howlings, and fly as the suspected enemy approached them. They are of a large size, often white, and bore resemblance to

both the Esquimaux dog and the wolf. Neither sheep nor goats were to be seen.

On the edge of a plateau just overlooking the town, and about 100 feet above the sea, a small Bhuddist temple tempted us to visit it. It was a wooden building, with fantastic figures elaborated on every projecting beam or post, strongly framed, and with very fine carvings on the pillars and girders. Japanese birds and beasts of nearly the size of life were mixed with the extraordinary creations of the artist's brains. Before the altar stood large jars of the peculiar bronze of Japan, in which votive sticks of a fragrant compound, or lighted twisted papers, were placed. Daylight only entered the edifice by the front and rear verandahs; and, as the wooden pillars and beams were dark and polished, there was an air of solemnity within its quiet precincts which increased as our footsteps passed noiselessly over the well-matted floor. These mats are made of very fine whitish straw, and are six feet long and three wide, and a little more than an inch thick; so that, when placed two deep, as they are in the temples and in the houses of the wealthy, they assist in producing

the quietude so agreeable to Japanese ideas of refinement.

Our escort of police, which had been relieved as often as we passed into each successive ward that the town is divided into, now begun to show signs of our having taken them far enough for our first walk, and on our emergence from the temple evidently wished us to descend. The numerous gravestones around, however, requiring some explanation, we loitered amongst them, and ascertained that the spot was sacred to the spirit of the hill above us, and that several stone and wooden tablets in the garden were propitiatory offerings.

To climb the peaks of the hilly peninsula rising above us, and the green steep slopes leading to them, was an irresistible temptation after our three weeks' confinement on board the frigate; so, instead of descending, we began to ascend the steep path which led to the highest point. The police at first laughed and shook their heads, or pointed below. We slowly continued to rise, and the stouter portion of the escort stopped to breathe: the remainder, as we went on, laughed less, and

pointed to their legs and then to the hill. This was intelligible enough information that we should be soon left alone; and every fifty feet we ascended we shook off some attendants, until, when we had reached about half-way, we turned round and saw that there was not a Japanese near us. The fragments of the escort were below in different groups, and in one of them we discovered the portly form and laughing countenance of one of our companions.

We then left the path made by or for the pony chargers of the Japanese officers, and scrambled up the sides of the hill. The late ruins had rendered the black rich soil so slippery that our hands were actively employed in laying hold of the shrubs and bushes, growing, in great profusion, amidst luxuriant beds of wild strawberries and violets, and clusters of jonquils and blue-bells.

In less than half an hour we gained the crest, about 1150 feet above the sea, terminating in a very small circular knoll, from which rose a large block of granite, nearly six feet high, on which, in *basso relievo*, were sculptured a Mother and Child; and the stone

was so cut as to curve its highest edge over the images below. I subsequently inquired its history of our interpreter, without obtaining it; for he did not easily yield it even in commoner cases.

The views from the knoll embraced the Straits of Sangar, from the Japan Sea to the north-east cape of Niphon, past which the huge waves of the Pacific were driven by the strong east wind against the rapid current of the straits, until they broke in a wild surf on the sandy isthmus below us. On every side high mountains rose, but none could compete in beauty with the lofty volcanic peak seen beyond the bay: all the heights were crowned by snow; and the keen air, the bright sun, the clear blue sky, and dazzling surface of the water, recalled one of the brilliant and cold spring mornings of Canada.

In the ravines of this seven-hilled peninsula small woods of cedar and fir, or more wintry leaveless beech, elm, and oak, invited us to descend by a different path, and in a few minutes we reached a clump of beech and pear, the latter in full blossom. A pleasant rural stroll along the rough road, used to

carry timber on, brought us, by gradual descents, near the neck of the isthmus; and for some minutes we perambulated the remoter streets without meeting policemen. No sooner, however, had we reached the main street, which runs for a mile parallel and close to the sea, than we were joined by two two-sworded officials, who gradually collected more of their brotherhood.

It was very pleasing to trace in the rosy cheeks and robust figures and merry countenances of the lower orders the signs of a contented life, and to observe the scarcity of cripples and the absence of beggars. There was one unhappy exception to the generally healthy state of the people, which was, that a large proportion seemed to suffer from some complaint in the eyes, and not a few had lost the sight of one eye. This was more common amongst the lower officials, whose reputed disorderly lives may, perhaps, account for it.

At intervals along the main street there are houses of some pretension on cut stone foundations, built of earth and very thick, and covered with cement: the gables are pre-

sented to the street, and the windows are closed with iron plates and secured by iron bars. These turned out to be storehouses, in which merchants and shopkeepers keep almost all their fine goods, retaining specimens alone in their shops. Fires seem to be well guarded against: each house-top shows an array of water jars: there are also small tanks at short intervals, and numerous wells.

We extended our walk to the western extremity of the town and point of the peninsula, and arrived in time to see the sunset guard mounted by an elderly gentleman, shuffling along in the pace common to the Japanese when wearing shoes. The troops fell in; and, as the officer approached, they dropped down to the demi-prostration posture, —a very bearish reverence, accomplished by bending the head and shoulders down until the hands of the extended arms, elbows in front, touch the foot: this salute returned by a prostration of less humble character, officer and men shuffled away into the house.

The waning daylight warned us to go on board; and after a few minutes' sail we soon, with sharpened appetites, sat down before

fresh salmon and other delicacies at the table of the very hospitable officers of the frigate.

The fresh easterly breeze that had blown during the day increased as night came, and in the morning it was whistling and crying through the shrouds and ropes. The barometer had sunk in the interval from 29·8° to 29·2°, and the thermometer stood at 48°. A second anchor was let go, and the topgallant yards sent down. The shore, only a mile distant, rose indistinctly through the thick mist; and, as the gale gathered strength, we could not avoid thinking of the fragile buildings of the town and of their probable fate. All idea of visiting the governor was abandoned, as a heavy sea was rolling in from the western entrance to the straits, towards which point the gale gradually veered, settling at night at north-west, and coming in violent squalls from the high mountains around us. The following day, the 1st of May, the gale gradually died away in strong and short puffs; and we saw the uplands covered with snow, and hills, woods, and sea with wintry aspects: the icy wind was trying to those who, like me, had been three years in the tropics; and

although we declared that it was a fine bracing climate, we all looked as if we disliked it.

A little before noon a boat was reported as coming to the frigate from the shore, and the chief secretary and an interpreter were announced in a few minutes. The secretary presented a basket of fish with the governor's compliments, and expressed his Excellency's regrets that the state of the weather had prevented the intended reception, and his hopes that if the next day was fine the commodore would pay him a visit. The secretary again requested information as to the number and rank of the officers who were to accompany the commodore, and as to the description of the escort; and did not, like our own interpreter, quite understand the object of the characteristic simplicity of the arrangements suggested by my friend.

These being settled, the officials opened their pipe cases and commenced a compensatory smoking; and the invariably customary cups of tea were handed round, followed by wine and biscuits, which were duly appreciated. The secretary inveighed against the

inclemency of the climate of Yesso, and its dreary, uncultivated appearance; and lamented his exile from Yeddo, which he had quitted a few weeks, and where in the depth of winter two silk robes were sufficient to exclude cold, whilst he was at the moment, in May, clothed in five, and was still cold. The sea was rough and the Sibylle rolled well, as she always does in similar cases: the secretary grew paler every moment, and at last requested to be allowed to withdraw into the inner cabin.

The interpreter, left alone, became at once more communicative, and unrolling a chart of Sagalien, which had been previously placed before him, pointed out the track of a voyage he had lately taken to Aniwa Bay, showing the anchorages used every night during this coasting trip of twenty days. He declared that the southern half of the magnificent island of Sagalien was under Japanese rule, as well as the two nearer Kurile Islands: the remainder of both the large island and of the Kurile group belonging to Russia.

Unfortunately the secretary reappeared quickly, and the interpreter's fluency ceased.

As the charts still were visible on the table, the secretary's *amour propre* was touched, and he produced from the folds of his robes a copy of a Mercator's chart of the world with the names in Japanese. He, with some vanity in his knowledge, pointed to England and her possessions in different parts of the map, showed the two routes home from China, talked of America and the Panama Railway, and laid his finger on France and Russia. He seemed to take a pleasurable interest in the comparison of the relative positions and extent of the Britannic and Japanese Isles, and listened with attentive pride to some remarks on the configuration of his country, bounded by great lines of sea coast, indented by numerous and capacious bays and harbours, and inhabited by a race of hardy fishermen. He had heard of the rebellion in China, and asked many questions as to its origin and progress, but did not betray any sensitiveness to the religious ingredient in the movement.

After some conversation on the provisioning of the squadron, during which appeals were frequently necessary to the principal native merchants, who entered and retired in the

bear-like attitude etiquette requires, the visitors paid a few valedictory compliments and returned to their boat, threading their way along it amongst the prostrate forms of about fifty people; and as soon as they were seated they were enveloped in waterproof paper coats, and covered with fine mats as defences against the spray of an agitated sea.

The merchants are held in great contempt by Japanese authorities, and are kept in as great subjection as the shopkeepers, peasant farmers, and fishermen. They can never aspire to the proud position of wearing two swords, or of being dressed in the silken petticoat; they are, however, so far indulged as to be able to purchase the permission of girding one sword: and if the effects of these tyrannical customs are often as repulsive as they appeared in the cunning and knavish countenance of the merchant we saw, many years of free commerce will pass before this class can attain its proper high functions of gradually introducing the civilisation of the West into the country.

Early next morning the harbour-master and second interpreter came on board, to say that,

as the day promised to be fine, the governor would be at the temple at noon, and would be ready to receive us. It was a small temple, and it was hoped that no more officers would come than the twelve originally named. His Excellency likewise requested that a British officer should visit the temple beforehand, so that no difficulties might occur; and that at the same time any number of officers could see the building, and thus compensate for their necessary exclusion from the interview.

The harbour-master complained that the climate was severe,—that he had been preparing Hakodadi for the reception of foreign vessels for six months,—that the snow had lingered even on the lowlands from November till May, —that the winds were violent and piercingly cold,—that the houses were very bad,—and the country uncivilised compared with Yeddo.

We listened to the enumeration of these misfortunes and condoled with the sufferer, in the hope that he would be equally loquacious on other topics. No opening, no remote hint to speak of the whereabouts of the Russian vessels was taken advantage of, and the furtive, upward, or sidelong glances which intermit-

ted with his more habitual downward look, forbade any anticipations of success in a diplomatic war with our Tartar-countenanced visitor, who did not remain long on board.

A vessel was reported in sight in the forenoon, and was seen to stand in close to the Pacific shore of the isthmus, and coming in to about two miles' distance from us, looked well at us over the low sands, and then showing American colours, made all sail before the breeze, and with the aid of a strong current steered to the eastward. It was thought "a suspicious sail," as it did not look like a trader and had no whale boats, and therefore in a few minutes the Bittern was under a press of sail beating out of the harbour, to commence a long stern chase, and the Hornet's steam was got up in about an hour, and away she likewise went in pursuit of the mysterious stranger.

About noon a procession of boats, diminished on account of the absence of our consorts, left the Sibylle, and in a quarter of an hour ranged alongside the steps of the harbour-master's office.

The commodore and eight of his officers

landed, and were immediately surrounded by numerous officials; and all falling into processional order commenced a progress towards the temple, I taking advantage of my black coat to pass as the *confrère* of the chaplain. We marched through streets lined by policemen, behind whom were four or five rows of men, women, and children on their knees, perfectly silent and orderly, upon whom the laced cocked hats, rich epaulettes, and glittering swords of the naval officers appeared to make a great impression.

As we approached the temple, pieces of calico connected the trees together and hid whatever was required to be concealed. Immediately near the temple a row of twenty men was ranged on each side of the courtyard. On the right hand, these men were equipped as arquebusiers, with their slow matches coiled. On the left, the body guard was armed with halberts twenty feet long; the steel of halbert and arquebus alike covered with leather, as the presenting of naked weapons before friends is forbidden by Japanese etiquette. These troops were picked, taller and stronger than the mass of the police,

and were clothed in cotton robes and cotton trowsers tightly fitting their large limbs, and on their heads were black Japanned broad-brimmed hats, somewhat resembling in shape those of the Chinese peasantry.

At the steps of the Buddhist temple we were received by several high shoeless dignitaries, and conducted by them over matted floors, through galleries lined by officials and adorned by painted screens or figured calicoes, into a small room about twenty-five feet long and fifteen wide, opening on to a verandah and looking into a garden; at the back of the room there was a long red and yellow calico-covered form, unoccupied, and in front another similar form with a detached seat on the extreme end. We found the lieut.-governor, the chief secretary, the harbour-master, and six or seven other officials standing with their backs to the light and the garden, who motioned us to sit on the red and yellow calico bench facing them; and as soon as we were seated they sat down. Low benches of the height of footstools were placed parallel to the forms, not to place our feet on, but, as we soon discovered, to put things on before us.

In front of the solitary seat were the two interpreters on their knees; and behind it, in the same position, were inferior secretaries and officials.

Intense silence reigned in the room as soon as we were seated, and in a few minutes sounds of "hish—hish—hish," were heard uttered in low whispers along the galleries and verandah. The kneelers bowed their heads, and the higher functionaries bent on their seats; and amidst the deepest silence a sword-bearer, with sword reversed and uplifted, entered, followed by a tall, elderly, thin Mongol, dressed like the other officials and also shoeless, who advanced to the commodore and bowed as we all rose to him, and then, with great dignity of bearing and courteousness of manner, stepped slowly in front of each officer and bowed to them in succession, after which, bowing to his own officials, he turned to the solitary seat, and, waving us to our seats, sat down.

The intense stillness was broken by a whisper from the governor to the kneeling chief interpreter before him, who listened with downcast eyes in his prostrate position, and without casting his eye upward, gave faint

whispering assents to each sentence given by the governor. Our interpreter then advanced and caught the whispered message from the ever downbent lips of the chief interpreter, and noiselessly stepped aside to the commodore's ear, and in murmurs which gradually assumed conversational tones, and which I heard distinctly, conveyed "the governor's respects to Queen Victoria." "The commodore's respects to the Emperor of Japan" were distilled, by the same quiet process inversed, into the ears of the governor; and yet, though this system lasted during the interview, every Japanese word that passed was taken down by the secretary, who was on his knees behind the governor.—"The governor hopes Her Majesty is well." "The commodore is happy to say that the last papers received from England stated that Her gracious Majesty was quite well."—"Governor is glad to see commodore." "Commodore has much pleasure in paying his respects to the governor."—"Governor is sorry that he has nothing to offer." Upon which two sworded individuals on their knees and with heads bent, placed long bamboo pipes with very small silver bowls, little boxes

of fine lacquer full of tobacco, lacquered ash trays, and small metal charcoal dishes, on the low stools in front of the officers—English and Japanese.

The governor then motioned to us that we should light our pipes, and set us the example. The tobacco was light-coloured, very fine, and weak, and as the pipe bowls hardly hold more than a good pinch of snuff, on our bench they were frequently filled before the first smoking ceased; whereas with the Japanese the custom is only to smoke one bowlful and then lay aside the pipe for a quarter of an hour, more or less, according to individual taste.

When, therefore, the pipe had been emptied, the governor resumed the conference by asking, "Are England and Russia still at war?" "Yes."—"Would English ships fire on Russian ships near the coasts of Japan?" "The English have orders to respect the neutrality of Japan."—"Did an English ship that can go both ways lately take many Russian ships?" "Commodore has not heard of it."—"What kind of coal is best for steam-ships,—black, hard, or rusty red?" "When Hornet returns commodore will send some pieces of good coal

to governor."—"Where have the two smaller ships gone?" "Not very far."—"Why did they go?" "They have gone for a short cruise." The next interruption to the colloquy was caused by the entrance of a dozen domestics, bearing trays, on which were tea-cups of fine china and of the beautiful red lacquer of Japan. These trays were placed on the stools in front of each officer, and we were served as before, kneeling. Sponge cakes, preserves, oranges, and confectionery were subsequently brought in.

Immediately anything was set before us, "the governor requests that you will take" whatever it was, was instantly said. He invariably ate and drank himself as soon as he had begged us to do so.

Several questions relative to our passage from Hong Kong, the progress of the rebellion in China, our destination, the probable arrival of the admiral, whether the commodore was married, whether he lived in London, and on other miscellaneous topics, were put and answered; after which, "the commodore hoped he would have the pleasure of seeing the governor on board the Sibylle," and "the go-

vernor regretted that he was so unwell that he could not go on the water." "The commodore expressed his regrets;" upon which "the governor promised to send the lieut.-governor in his stead." "The commodore would be glad to see him," was the reply.

At this stage of the proceedings one of the lieutenants of the frigate entered in undress, and sent a message "that another strange sail was steering through the Straits;" and a slight manifestation of a desire to move being followed by an expression of a "wish to say good bye to the governor," his Excellency, adroitly perceiving that something had occurred, and without replying to the wish expressed, which as yet had not been repeated to him by the chief interpreter, "apologised that he was unable to prolong the interview from the bad state of his health;" and rising, bowed to the commodore, and slowly passing down, he bowed to each officer in succession, and then preceded by the whispered "hish, hish, hish," and by the sword-bearer with the sword reversed, and followed by secretaries and a numerous suite, he left the room, where all the Japanese were kneeling or bending over

their knees, with a bow to the latter class and a whispered word to the lieut.-governor.

This functionary paid a compliment to the commodore, and expressed a desire to lengthen the visit as soon as the retreating steps of the governor were no longer audible. It was thought necessary to decline that pleasure; and accordingly, escorted to the outer steps by the higher officials, we bade them there "Good bye."

The streets were lined by the police, and crowded by the kneeling population as on our arrival, great order and deep silence being maintained.

On getting on board, the "strange sail" was not deemed "suspicious," so that we were able in the afternoon to go ashore on the beach and walk across the foot of the hills to a fishing-village on the other side of the isthmus. It was very populous, though poor and dirty, and the odour of the remains of the herrings, after being boiled down for oil, was most disagreeable, and soon drove us from the examination of the huge iron cauldrons and wooden troughs to the rocky eastern pinnacle of the peninsula, whence we looked down into

a two-gun battery *en barbette*, with its guns housed, and its slopes green and well formed.

We returned to the town over the lowest slopes of the hills, meeting every where signs of the fertility of the rich black soil, and we passed close to the tea gardens which are the scenes of so much that is peculiarly dissolute in Japanese manners. The use, or abuse rather, of saki, a spirit made from corn, is very common, and we were witnesses of a dispute between a young, pretty, respectable-looking, and intoxicated woman and her domestics, whether she was to be allowed to lie in a ditch as she wished, or be taken home. A policeman, who for the sake of learning English phrases had clung to us the whole afternoon, took no notice of the occurrence.

This love of acquiring the English names of things is very common, and it was not unusual in the shops, streets, or on board the frigate, to be asked what we termed anything touched by the Japanese, who at once phonetically expressed the sound; and frequently men and boys were glad to stop us to listen to their acquisitions in English, or, as they oftener say, " Amerikee;" for they owe their earliest

knowledge of the language to the officers of the United States navy, to whom we also were indebted for the tact, patience, and good-natured firmness with which they obtained the power of going freely into the country round Hakodadi.

It had been arranged, by the Japanese authorities, in order to lessen the inconvenience felt by us from the enforcement of the port regulations, that the shopkeepers should bring samples of their goods to one of the temples, which was temporarily to be fitted up as a bazaar; and though we were strictly forbidden to enter private houses, shops, or military buildings,—a pretty comprehensive enumeration,—we were allowed, if we saw anything we wished to purchase exposed on the open counters, to direct the shopkeeper to send it to the bazaar.

On the 3rd, therefore, we determined to visit the temple selected for this purpose, and found on reaching it, that one of the dwelling-houses attached to a Buddhist temple had been emptied of its numerous room-forming screens, and that the whole building was dedicated to trade. It was dark and small,

light entering from the verandahs ; new deal forms and tables were ranged down the room ; on the tables were placed the various articles for sale, the forms were meant for the repose of the purchasers. Behind the tables, kneeling — or rather sitting on the soles of their feet — were the tradesmen; and at the head of the room, with braziers to light their pipes, and cups of tea, and pipes and tobacco boxes before them, sat in dignified discomfort on three new deal stools, two double-sworded officials and the chief interpreter.

The lacquer-work was very beautiful ; the colours so rich and pure, and the designs often tasteful; and it struck me very much, although I had lately seen some fine specimens at the manufactories at Canton. There is more elaboration and grotesqueness of design in the Chinese lacquer-work, whilst the Japanese content themselves with producing colours of exquisite tone and with simple ornaments. The small cups — thin as a wafer — of almost transparent porcelain, of light and graceful forms, were the most tempting objects to purchase, and were not as dear as the soup bowls and cabinets of lacquer-work.

There was some mystery about the prices of things, for a question on this point from our own interpreter would be answered by the seller in so many hundred copper cash, of which about fifteen hundred are equivalent to a dollar; whereas the chief interpreter, to whom, or to the officials, our money was always taken, demanded only dollars and integral multiples of dollars. By degrees the shopkeepers received the money themselves, when they could do so without official supervision, and their stock was sold much cheaper.

The whole of the foreign coin must sooner or later pass into the hands of the government, as it is useless to the people, who cannot trade directly and freely, and who are punished severely if the police discover that they possess foreign coins. We suspected that the government profited largely by the exchange forced on the people; and subsequent information of the great extent to which the depreciation of the national currency is carried, from the excessive adulteration of their money, made us aware of the reasons for the great jealousy of the government.

Some large dishes and a few jars of old and

quaint China were exhibited, and on finding that they were eagerly sought after, the shopkeepers despatched messengers to their houses for more; pipes; tobacco cases; ink and penholders of Japan metal; fans; toys; and grotesque pieces of China or of metal, formed the chief stock in trade of the stalls; the silks, satins, and crapes were far inferior to those of China, and much dearer.

Great efforts were made to get swords, which have the reputation of being most excellently tempered; all were unsuccessful; neither money nor English swords would be taken in exchange for them, and five months later, when I quitted Japan, I did not hear of a single sword being in any officer's possession, though some of the ships were for a large part of the summer in Japanese ports.

Some doubts of the temper of these swords arose in consequence of a playful encounter which happened on board one of the ships, in which a Japanese sword suffered some injury from the cuts of an English one, which had received several cuts from the Japanese sword without receiving any dents; this superiority may have arisen from the more dexterous

handling of the officer, and from the English sword having been bought at a good establishment, — at Wilkinson's, I believe.

There was, I fancy, a pretty general feeling of disappointment at the poverty of the shops at Hakodadi, especially in provisions, though it should have been recollected that the place was, until lately, a very inferior dependency of the neighbouring feudal capital of the Prince of Matsmai,—little more, in fact, than a town where fishing was carried on with great success; and that much had already been done by the imperial government, and that there were unmistakeable signs of improvement.

One afternoon we went in the galley a little distance up the river nearest us, and landed close to a high trestle bridge, which spanned a stream of forty or fifty feet; a well laid out road, twenty feet wide, with hedges on each side, and apparently leading into the country, promised us good views of rural life, and we accordingly followed it. The ditches on each side, the flowery banks, the willows growing in the hedgerows, all reminded us of home scenery, and the thatched cottages gleaming

here and there at small intervals, were English-like; these houses, at every two or three hundred yards on each side of the road, were roughly built of wood, the little domain of each running back towards parallel roads or small streams; the fields were just being turned up by the plough, a large two-tongued spade, forced by the hand into the rich black loam; a few fields were lying fallow, over which roamed groups of ponies, of about thirteen hands high, wiry and shaggy.

The proprietors, dressed in long grey robes, and sandals of straw, or high wooden clogs, were rosy-cheeked, fat, and civil; and numberless healthy children ran out of every door to look at the "Englishee," and were generally accompanied by large white dogs, vociferous in the extreme.

A tall grey-bearded peasant came out of his house to meet us, and, with great courtesy of manners, invited us into it; unfortunately, this was forbidden by the port regulations, so that we contented ourselves with a glance at the comfortable interior, where a bright charcoal fire glowed, and on the raised and matted dais near it was an elderly dame, busied in household offices.

The straight level roads, the divisions of property, the separate yet continuous cottages, the mild politeness of the peasantry, and their sombre grey robes, reminded me of the happy domestic scenery of Lower Canada; picturesque churches were, however, wanted to complete the illusion. We had not proceeded far on the road when a stout elderly peasant joined us, and good-naturedly pointing to a brawling stream, led us to its bank. Our interpreter endeavoured to elicit some information from our companion, and, it soon appeared, fruitlessly; for beyond ascertaining that he was the responsible headman of the hamlet around us, nothing could be obtained: either his patois was too bad for the interpreter's southern ear, or the difficulty was purposely made. I incline to the former opinion, for we contrived by signs to understand that our acquaintance was a disciple of "the gentle art," and that as soon as the snow had quite disappeared, he should recommence the sport; what fish was its object was more difficult to know, though the stream looked as if it ought to be full of trout, and the signs indicated by the peasant seemed to point to large trout. Bait, rod, and

line appeared to be the "implements" of our friend. On our return to the road, and resuming our pace along it, the robust native accompanied us for a short space, until we approached a comfortable-looking cottage, into which he endeavoured to persuade us to enter, adding the inducement of drinking saki; the invitation was necessarily declined, and we continued to stroll on. Our companion then tried by signs to prevail upon us to go back to the beach, which signs we did not respond to, and as the pace distressed the fat headman, he gradually dropped behind, and was soon hidden by a change in the direction of the road, which deviated into two branches. We chose that which led by most farmsteads, and the wind being chilly, we asked the interpreter to go his own pace, and told him that we would return by the same road; and then stepped out for the first good walk we had had for many weeks.

We could hardly imagine that the rural scenes around us, through which we were enjoying a *tête à tête*, unaccompanied by escorts, and one of us unarmed, the other with a light uniform sword, were in the jealously guarded

Japanese islands; and the politeness with which all who met us saluted, completely reassured us.

The farms look as if originally they had been of large extent, and had been divided as sons grew up and married, so that the houses, though each in its little property, are contiguous. We saw the women working in the fields, which, coupled with the everywhere swarming children, may account for the sex seeming to be of two ages alone: young, rosy, straight, and agile, with brilliant white teeth; or old, wrinkled, bent, and with teeth so blackened as to appear toothless. A very few young married women, emerging from the one class, and with blackened teeth, pausing in the quickly passed middle state, looked strangely,—more so than "cheeks all bloom" surmounted by grey locks in Europe.

Occasionally a house of more pretensions, with better-papered windows; with a garden, rich in curiously dwarfed trees and shrubs; with larger stacks of firewood; and more tailless cats playing about it, denoted the residence of some inferior official: and less frequently, a small Buddhist temple, embosomed

in trees, would appear at a short distance from the main road.

When we had gone as far as a return by daylight to the boat permitted, and were on the point of retracing our steps, the sharp, short gallop of a pony was heard behind us; we turned and saw the headman in his great overrobe—overnothing else—mounted on the bare back of a rough little animal, and both rider and beast were out of breath, and hot. The hamlet dignitary seemed glad to have found us, and at once, laughing heartily at the success of his chase, pointed to a neighbouring house, and made motions expressive of his desire that we should all go there to drink some saki. To a proposition so social he concluded that there could be but one answer; and therefore cantered off to the gate,—opened it,—dismounted,—and commenced greeting his neighbours. Seeing, however, that we did not follow him, he shouted to us, and made most pressing invitatory signals. The honest obedience to the regulations denied us this pleasure, and so on we reluctantly stepped homewards, leaving our guardian, who saw

that we were bound towards the shore, to indulge himself, which he did to the top of his bent; for presently he again overtook us, singing cheerfully, before we reached the bridge, and setting his pony loose, to graze at will in the fallow fields, he stumbled into his house, not a little "fou," as they say in the north.

Our country walk was well timed, as the three following days were so wet that there was some difficulty in getting the shore boats to bring the remaining supplies of fish, vegetables, wood, and water. These necessaries were got on board before the evening of the 6th, when the harbour-master and merchants came to receive payment for the supplies. This was a tedious affair, and during the settlement of it by the proper officers, the harbour-master and interpreters smoked several pipes in the cabin, with interludes of tea and sherry; indeed, if the solaces of tea and tobacco were withdrawn from the Japanese, time would become intolerable to them; but with these calm delights, a great deal of eating and drinking, much ceremony, a little business, and a good portion of sleep, years

glide cheerfully on, adding weight to their portly forms, except when vicious, though legal, indulgence prevails, and is apparent in the sunken eye and shrunken form of many an official.

CHAP. III.

Difficulty of getting Westward. — Distant View of Matsmai. — The Beauty of its Position. — Fine Peak of Risiri. — Glimpse of Sagalien. — Gale of Wind and Sleet. — Pass Cape Lamanon. — Go Ashore. — Deserted Hamlet. — Proceed further North. — Land. — Interview with Natives. — Description of them. — Large Black Bear caged. — Superstition of the Natives. — Their Worship of the Bear. — Anchor off Baie de la Jonquière. — Visit Settlement. — Coal found. — Stand across for De Castries Bay. — See Ships under Land. — Discovered to be Russian Squadron at Anchor. — Reconnoitred. — Force of the Enemy. — Steamer goes in to find Passage. — Description of Bay. — Position of Russian Ships. — Exchange Shots. — Find no Channel for Frigate. — Cruise off Mouth of Harbour. — Go to the South. —Despatch Brig for Reinforcements. — Cruise. — Return to De Castries Bay. — Find it deserted. — Secrecy of it. — Land. — Signs of hasty Flight.

At daylight, on the 7th, every one was glad to hear the order given to weigh the anchor, and to see the sails again set for our campaign to the north. A light westerly wind prevented our "working out" against the strong easterly current in the centre of the channel, and forced us to try to creep out under the high lands of the northern shore. This tedious operation was attended by a slow though certain

progress till we got within sight of the bold capes on each side of the straits, when we stood across; but, unfortunately baffled by wind and current all the afternoon and night, daylight dawned upon us nearly due south of the rocky peninsula of Hakodadi, and close to the southern shore.

A light southerly breeze springing up enabled us to weather Cape Sangar by three P.M., and we slowly passed the steep rocky headlands beyond it, despite of the rapid current hurrying past us into the straits. We had been so many hours striving to get round these points, that a pleasant feeling of success was called forth as we lingeringly left them behind us.

This feeling had not had time to subside, when rounding the last point before Cape Matsmai, a most enchanting view was presented to us: before us, sheltered by bold wooded hills and lofty volcanic snow-covered mountains, lay along the shore and upon the lower green slopes, an extensive city, its white houses rising from clusters of birch, fir, spring-leaved beech, and blossom-crowned fruit trees, and stretching away some miles,

until the eye caught, on a fine green bluff sloping upward towards the lower hills, a large three-storied pagoda, — the feudal chief's palace, — in a small park surrounded by white walls, with lesser pagodas at the angles. The glowing tints of a setting May sun lit up snow peaks, woods, white glistening houses, and the clear almost unruffled sea before us, shedding such soft beauty over the scene that it almost seemed unreal. The light breeze lulled as we were abreast of the city, and thus left us the enjoyment of this lovely picture until the short twilight deepened into night. Our burning hopes of a glorious campaign and the dry clear atmosphere about us, as well as the hour, lent additional charms to the beautiful capital of Yesso, and I should half dread visiting it under less favourable circumstances; yet, as Keats sings—

> "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever;
> Its loveliness increases: it can never
> Sink into nothingness."

The following morning we were out of sight of Matsmai, and were slowly passing between a long hilly island, thickly covered with timber

and the mountainous shores of Yesso. We continued to run steadily before light southerly breezes in a genial temperature, though with occasional squalls to remind us that we were approaching shores

"Where winter lingering chills the lap of May;"

—shores explored by the unfortunate La Perouse,—visited by Commodore Broughton,—and where no other European ships had ever penetrated,—as far as we knew, except when southerly gales had driven an American whale ship beyond the straits discovered by the great French navigator, through which lay its track to the rich fishing grounds of the Okhotsk Sea.

The lucid and interesting journal of La Perouse was therefore our constant companion by the cheerful cabin stove, and mingled with the feelings arising at the recollections of the sudden and sad termination of his illustrious career, were selfish regrets at the loss of the fuller and completer details of his voyage, which he reserved for transmission by a surer channel than through the Siberian dominions of the Empress Catherine.

We had been out of sight of land about fifty hours, when, a little before sunset on the 11th, we caught an indistinct glimpse of a dazzlingly white cone to the northward: it soon stood out sharply from the blue sea and clear sky, and as we slowly approached it, the setting sun's reflected rays were tinted in exquisite hues of violet and rose, and, before night a large portion of the island volcano of Risiri was distinctly visible, though at the distance of forty miles from us. At daylight this noble mountain isle was near us; and, before a light breeze, we were the whole day running past it and the neighbouring long and prettily undulating island of Rifunsiri. The former riveted our admiration: it rises at first gradually, with well wooded slopes and ravines for a few hundred feet, then suddenly emerges almost perfectly conical to a broken and castellated peak of about seven thousand feet above the sea. It stands a splendid beacon for ships, when making the westward entrance to the straits of La Perouse, and inflamed higher our eager curiosity to press forward into the unknown waters of the gulf beyond it.

The following morning we descried snowy ranges of mountains, extending northwards as far as the eye could reach. Our position rendered it certain that the bluff shores, rounded hills, and snowy summits before us, were on the island of Sagalien, Tchoka, and Krafto, or Oko Jesso, as it is called by Tartars, Ainos, and Japanese respectively. How much of the island was claimed or had been conquered by Russia, was one of the oft-mooted questions which a very hurried visit to these waters might have solved any time during the past five years. The country looked rich; and virgin forests of hard woods announced a good soil. There was a bitterly cold breeze blowing from the snow-covered ranges, which increased, with rapidly falling barometer and thermometer, until a furious gale with sleet came down on the frigate, and compelled the Commodore to take in additional reefs, and covered yards, rigging, and decks with snow.

The weather moderated soon after daylight, which presented a very wintry shore, and a short angry sea to our view. The thermometer stood at 35°, but did not seem to us to

indicate the true state of the temperature,—so chilling was the fresh breeze.

On the 15th, a bold mountain on the coast, named Lamanon by La Perouse, rose through the clear cold air; we could not discover any habitations below it at the distance we were. The following day when Peak Lamanon and four other peculiarly striking peaks had been left behind us, we occasionally saw, near the mouths of streams, small clusters of huts; and, as it was deemed essential to communicate with the natives, we closed the shore, and anchored three miles from it, in thirteen fathoms.

I was permitted by the active and zealous commander of the brig to accompany him in his whale-boat to some huts visible from the decks of the vessels, which we rapidly approached, and found to be near the mouth of a small stream: there was a slight surf beating on the sands, which were strewn with large quantities of drift wood. Not a creature moved or dog barked as we landed, and we strode through the high withered reeds of a marsh, towards some scattered log-houses.

They were soon discovered to be unin-

habited and mostly in ruins. They were built on poles about five feet above the marshy ground, of strong rough fir logs, with ridge poles and rafters of young fir trees, the sides and roof being made weather-tight with birch bark.

We climbed up the notched log that served as a staircase, and entered one of the least ruinous of the huts, and found fishing and household implements, nets, baits, traps, baskets of birch bark, wooden bowls, dishes and spoons, bows and arrows, a large iron nail let into walrus bone, and two European knife blades, tied to hard wood by strips of hide. We afterwards glanced at two or three of the other houses which looked most habitable, and saw the same signs of late occupation. Dogs and sleighs were searched for, and we found something like a portion of a sleigh, and the skull of a dog.

Opinions were divided as to the causes of the abandonment of the hamlet: I was inclined to believe that it was the summer fishing station of some inland tribe of the island or opposite continent, rather than to imagine that disease or war had laid the spot

desolate, and the results of subsequent inquiries made me adhere to my first opinion.

We stumbled upon some strong log inclosures, about ten feet long, six wide, and five high, which in many cases were covered also with strong logs, and puzzled our most ingenious companions to explain with any reasoning satisfactory to the remainder. We upset the logs, and sounded with a crow bar, in the hope of finding something hidden, and even dug into the ground, but without solving the mystery; to reveal it, a more intimate acquaintance with the Ainos was necessary.

The steep earth banks of the coast were evidently peeled by furious north-westerly gales in winter; above them rose grassy park-like knolls; at a short distance back from the stream the country was hilly, and luxuriantly clothed with spruce, fir, and birch, and above and beyond were the snowy mountains. Game was plentiful: near the stream, duck, teal, divers, quail, and woodcock, were seen during our short walk; and we likewise crossed the fresh foot tracks of an immense bear, and, following it to the shore, saw signs of the half-

finished repast on crabs and craw-fish, which our landing had disturbed.

We returned to the ships, which were quickly again under weigh, and, skirting the land, hamlet after hamlet was passed during the afternoon. Next morning some natives were seen on the shore, and Captain V. again kindly giving me a seat in his boat, we proceeded towards the mouth of a stream, hoping to enter it in the boat. As we came near, four dark men, with very long black hair flying in the wind, and clothed in seal-skin jackets, kilts, and boots, waved their arms and hands, warning us to another landing-place, towards which they waddled with a peculiarly clumsy gait.

Before the boat grounded on the beach, the natives fell on their hands and knees, and repeatedly touched the earth with their foreheads. When we had landed, they with much agitation made signs that two small dogs accompanying us should be tied or held fast by the boats' crew. On finding this assented to, they with many demonstrations of respect led the way to their huts of rough logs, covered and the interstices filled up by birch bark

and dry leaves; they were low on the ground, and could only be entered by stooping on the hands and knees; the larger huts, similar to those before seen, were used as storehouses for their fishing apparatus. One of the men was a magnificent savage: tall, lithe, straight, and strong, with hair, beard, and moustaches never desecrated by touch of scissors; with a high broad brow, dark eyes, straight nose, and oval face, he was a far nobler creature than the Red Indian, who I had always fancied was the pride of wild men. His fellows were less manly in their bearing, and smaller; and as far as dirt, mal-odour, and want of light permitted me to see, the women in the huts were ugly and little.

On issuing out of a house, I caught a glimpse of one of the log cages, the mystery of our first landing-place in the island, and immediately ran up to it: I was saluted by a very angry growl, and pausing suddenly, saw a huge black bear ranging round and round his cage. He must be caught for sale, and these things are traps, were my first thoughts; rather too near the huts to entice so savage a beast, was the second; is it to decoy, or to

frighten away others, were the third and fourth. Our interpreter's stock of languages was exhausted in vain, and we therefore commenced to use signs. I raised my gun, and held out gilt buttons and tobacco as temptations, to be allowed to shoot Bruin, for the sake of his fine skin. My proposal was met by looks of horror, and the natives endeavoured to lead us away, and did not seem to like remaining near the cage themselves. A closer examination of the cage showed that the animal was carefully and plentifully fed with dried fish, and round the cage several small young pines had been placed in the ground.

The natives gradually made us understand that if any accident happened to the bear, they would instantly fall ill; upon which Captain V. with great quickness, suggested that the Ainos worshipped the bear; and a few more questions elicited the information that one of our gipsy-hued friends had lately recovered from partial blindness by planting two pine sticks, which he pointed out amidst the group near the den!

Strolling about the houses we came to a second cage; it was empty, and it required no

small patience and importunity to prevail upon the people to remain near us, as we continued our explorations round the vacant cage. At length, with some signs of fear, they pointed out the grave of the departed bear, within a few yards of the votive pines, offered to it whilst living.

In front and rear of the huts were slight railings, attached to which in leather collars, and tied by long strips of leather, were rows of large white dogs for winter sleighing. The sleighs, of a very light construction, were outside each hut, and, together with the bows and arrows, were protected from the weather by the projecting roofs.

These people had communication with either the Manchu Tartars or Russian settlements on the Amùr, as they possessed iron points for their arrows, hunting-knives, spear-heads, and strike-alights apparently of tolerable fabrication: and a few iron chains were on the dog collars.

They produced in a little time a few marten, squirrel, and white hair furs; and as at their waists hung copper cash, seemingly Chinese, we offered silver; it was not liked by them,

but tobacco and clasp-knives were eagerly accepted in exchange for a few skins and for some dried fish resembling sprats.

There was some difficulty in obtaining information of the movements of ships in these seas. With patience, and by the aid of rough drawings on the sands and of signs, we imagined that they had seen, five or six days previously, three vessels running up the gulf, before a good southerly breeze. There is always great uncertainty in such a vague method of communication; quickness and talent leading an officer to hasty conclusions from slight coincidences, whilst slowness of picking out some meaning irritates or weakens the interest of the impulsive and childlike savage. On the present and on subsequent occasions, however, it was a real pleasure to witness the tact, temper, and quickness of apprehension displayed by Captain V.

The natives, we thought, migrate in the winter into the shelter of the forests; but whether into the interior of the island, or along its shore to the Amùr, we could not be sure,—such is the uncertainty of this means of conversing with them. On our re-embark-

ation the natives again bowed their heads, and watched the progress of the whale-boat with interest, so different from their frail, thong or pine-peg-fastened punts.

The squadron set sail in the afternoon, and ran within a few miles of the shore, which presented the same richly timbered appearance, and we saw villages on the *embouchures* of the frequently occurring streams.

The following morning the ship anchored off the picturesque bight called Baie de la Jonquière by La Perouse. A small river here discharges itself into the sea, and waters a broad and long valley, stretching many miles up the country. We landed in the afternoon, and were surprised that the natives did not come down to the beach; nor did we meet any of them until close to their village, which was larger and its houses better built than those previously seen. There was, also, a sullen air in the demeanour of the men, who, far from making prostrations, were difficult of approach, and slunk away to their huts when they could. Some of us imagined that a Russian military post might be near, or that a few Russians were in or near the village.

Wood and water were procured by the ship's boats' crews, and enough large pieces of coal were picked up on the shore to fill a bag, for the cabin fire of one of the ships; it was slaty, and had lain some time exposed to the weather, yet it burnt pretty well.

The natives were of the same tribe as those last communicated with; their houses, dogs, sleighs, arrows, spears, and fishing-tackle very similar; and two live bears, of smaller growth than the bear first seen, dwelt in two substantial cages, and were regaled on the choicest dried fish, and received the due votive pines. Good furs were not shown freely, whilst sealskin boots were readily exchanged for old flannel waistcoats or seamen's shirts. A Russian naval button and several Chinese manufactured ornaments were exhibited on the persons of the natives.

At daylight of the 20th our small squadron weighed and stood across for De Castries Bay before a strong easterly wind. The two shores of the Gulf of Tartary are here only forty miles apart, and nearly join, if our charts and slight information are correct, forty miles to

the north, leaving only a narrow passage for boats into the gulf of the Amùr.

Our knowledge of De Castries Bay was limited to the mention made of it by La Perouse in his Journal; and we did not even possess the charts laid down by that illustrious navigator from the observations and survey he made in 1779. Since then, as far as we knew, Commodore Broughton had alone visited it, and the northerly part of the gulf, to verify La Perouse's descriptions; and in the French officer's decision that there was no channel for ships through the strait into the Amùr, his further unsuccessful search for a passage led him to acquiesce. This occurred about sixty-five years ago. Since then our ships of war have never, I believe, visited these waters, nor even competed with the French in efforts to trace the western shores of the Sea of Japan,—shores indented by magnificent bays and harbours, abounding in mineral wealth, and covered with fine forests,—as we have since learned from the Russian naval officers, whose ships have been employed in reconnoitring this coast.

The accounts of Tartary given by La Pe-

rouse interested us so much, that our rapid run across hardly contented most of us, who eagerly wished to get ashore. The Commodore, whose anxiety to get to the north had been daily increasing as we approached the limits of the gulf, seemed to entertain hopes of seeing some Russian vessel yet; though many of those, who for weeks had zealously scanned the horizon, had now given up all such thoughts, and were only curious to see new countries and new people.

That ever thought-inspiring and touching scene of a ship's company at prayers at sea, surrounded by the instruments of destruction, ready in a few moments "to thunder along the deep," whilst listening to the mild teachings of our holy faith, had just ended; and groups of officers and men were proudly watching the Sibylle's speedy sailing before the fast-freshening breeze, which was already rather too much for the smaller vessels following her, when "a sail under the land" was reported. All glasses were instantly in requisition, and pointed towards the direction indicated. "I see one—two—three," the experienced master murmured to me; and, as his

telescope still bore on the bay before us, "Yes, there are four, five, and, I think, a sixth," he added.

The excitement was intense, though subdued by discipline; and when, in a few minutes, the Russian ensigns were discovered floating in the strong breeze, at a distance of seven or eight miles, the order and signal was given to "prepare for action;" and whilst we steadily pursued our progress, the cabins and their furniture were hurried below, and shot and shell brought up. Officers came on the deck with their swords on, and armed, as fortune willed, with pistols, single, double, or Colt-barrelled. The doctors and chaplain were quickly in the already-prepared cockpit, where medical instruments, bandages, and lint were lying in admirable order.

Ere many minutes had elapsed the noble main-deck of the Sibylle displayed its fine proportions; and perhaps at that moment ship-builders—if placed on board—might have acknowledged the folly of cutting seven immense ornamental and yacht-like windows in a frigate's stern, instead of four or five useful and ordinarily sized gunports.

The brig was ordered by signal to examine the enemy's force. In her usual well-handled style, and to the muttered admiration of the Sibylle's crew, she approached the outer bay, and off it signalled "a large frigate, three corvettes, a brig, and a steamer," as the composition of the enemy's force.

When we arrived within four or five miles the two sailing vessels shortened sail, and the auxiliary steam corvette, which had previously received orders to "get up steam," was directed by signal to enter the outer harbour and reconnoitre the position of the opposing squadron. She was long getting out of our view, but did not remain long out of sight; for about 2 P.M. her yards were again visible, as likewise her signal "that there were six vessels." She was then recalled: the strong breeze and rapid tide so retarded her return that it was nearly five o'clock when she came alongside the frigate.

During these six hours there had been a very active intercommunication by boats and signals between the Russian vessels, and the interest seemed to concentre in a large heavy-looking corvette carrying a reddish flag at the

mizen, unlike the white blue-crossed ensigns on the other ships. The small steamer's smoke was also seen, and there were changes of position made by two of the vessels.

After a short conference with the two commanders, the commodore, accompanied by them, went on board the auxiliary steam corvette, and she again proceeded towards the outer harbour; on entering which the three small islands forming the protection of the inner harbour, and lying nearly in a north and south direction, were seen less than two miles distant from us. They were steep, slightly undulating, and well wooded, with three passages, looking practicable at a distance, between them. On a nearer view there was evidently a shoal between the middle and the northern islands, whilst the sea was breaking on either grounded ice or rocks between the southern island and the shore. Protected by this ice or rocky shoal, and at a few hundred yards behind it, so placed as to fire on the outer harbour without much obstruction from the southern islet, the Russian frigate was moored with springs on her cables, and broadside to the impracticable-looking passage

close to the southern island. Behind the other passage, which alone seemed available, a long corvette, mounting eighteen or twenty guns, was moored with springs on her cables and with her broadside bearing on the channel between the southern and middle islets. These two vessels were, I think, within range of each other. The other two corvettes, or perhaps armed transports, mounting ten or twelve long guns each, which could be brought on either broadside as required, were similarly moored in an inner line within range of each other and of one of the two first-named ships. The brig or brigantine was placed further back, and the small steamer, half hidden behind a projecting point, still further up the harbour. The steam corvette passed in, out of range of the frigate's broadside, towards the middle passage, steaming slowly; and as she was sounding her way in, a buoy was fortunately seen in the outer harbour placed near a rock, over which the sea, at some times of tide, breaks, though at this moment it was covered. The water shoaled gradually to seven and eight fathoms, and the Hornet was "stopped" when within about two thousand

yards of the long corvette, whose deck and tops were covered with men.

From each mast-head of all the Russian vessels their white ensigns waved. From our mast-head the number of guns seen on each vessel was reported; and it was conjectured that the frigate was the Aurora of forty-four guns; that the corvette was probably the Dwina of eighteen or twenty; but whether the other long vessels were corvettes of twenty, or armed transports of ten or twelve guns, seemed problematical in the unaccountable and blameable state of ignorance all the officers seemed in of the number, size, and description of the few vessels Russia possessed in these seas;—and this lamentable ignorance existed thirteen months after the declaration of war!

It would be presumptuous in me to attach blame to any one, yet to obtain all possible information of the enemy's resources and power, is one of those simple professional maxims too often neglected by us. In the very bay before us Russia had been five years busily laying the foundations of a settlement, as the nearest and earliest open harbour for her possessions in the Amùr; and it was to this bay that the

vessels which had eluded pursuit after the declaration of war were directed to proceed; and we shall find that similar orders, and the same destination, saved the Petropaulski ships.

There yet remained nearly two hours of daylight, and the Commodore gratified the eagerness of the boyish crew of the Hornet by giving orders to hoist the red ensign and to try the range of the long thirty-two pound gun in the bow, which, as the furthest ranging gun in the service, ought to have reached the corvette at 2000 yards. We watched the flight of a shell, and were disappointed in seeing it fall short of the island. The Russians cheered and returned the compliment from a broadside gun, whose shot fell likewise short amidst the cheers of our crew. The long gun was again pointed, and a second shell dropped some distance from the mark. A longer cheer from the Russians, who brought the bow of their corvette to bear on us, was followed by a well directed shot which fell between three or four hundred yards short, and was greeted by another cheer. This practice was, I assume, thought a waste of time, and we steamed back to the frigate and brig which were still outside.

The following day the three vessels "stood on and off" the entrance to the harbour, with a view to entice the enemy's squadron to leave their strong position. The day passed without this object being attained; the Russians employing it in active measures to strengthen themselves.

What was to be done? The first feeling of an English sailor must have been to attack at once. But an unknown harbour, at such a distance from any resources in case of an accident happening, required a cautious approach; it must be reconnoitred, and its channels sounded. There seemed to be but one channel, narrow and shallow, and the auxiliary steam corvette could not be depended on as a towing steamship: her power of self-propulsion against a head-wind was hardly sufficient for herself alone, and had been glaringly exhibited that day: on a subsequent occasion, against a moderate breeze, and in the harbour of Hakodadi in smooth water, she failed to tow the Sibylle into an anchorage. Such were some of the reasons, I presume, which prevented an immediate attack, and subsequent experience proved that the true passage was that appa-

May 20

rently barred by a reef of rocks or grounded ice, which latter was the real obstacle seen and that no reinforcements, on the 20th May, were within 1500 miles of the Sibylle.

The second alternative was to blockade the Russian squadron. On so completely naval a question I am incompetent even to imagine a sailor's reasoning, as I have dared to do on the point of an immediate attack. That difficulties would attend an anchorage in the outer harbour, with the land two thirds surrounding it in the possession of the enemy, upon which batteries and riflemen could be placed, is obvious; and that the power of choosing the time and method of attack would then pass into the hands of the superior force blockaded, seems indubitable; and, lastly, one of the ships could not in such a case be spared to convey the intelligence of the position of both squadrons.

The remaining alternative appears to have been to blockade the port by keeping the sea with two vessels, and to despatch the smallest one with intelligence; for the ultimate safe arrival of a pinnace or barge was doubtful, and its passage down would probably have been slow against the southerly winds so pre-

valent in summer. This alternative was acted on, and at once; for no sooner had the daylight entirely failed, than the three vessels stood out to sea, and during the two following days slowly sailed to the south, to accompany the Bittern, which left us at midday on the 23rd, when the frigate and corvette commenced cruising in a narrow part of the gulf to prevent the escape southwards of the Russian squadron. Occasionally catching glimpses of either shore, through the fogs which hung around us, and without a sight of sail or boat, we kept as much of the gulf watched as was possible under such circumstances, until the 27th, when the two vessels bore up for De Castries Bay.

The next morning, as we skirted the well-known bluff, every glass was turned towards the bay, and long before it was possible to see them, masts were descried by anxious and eager eyes. A nearer approach revealed that the Russian ships had evidently changed their positions, though where they had moved to could not be discovered; and slowly and disagreeably the conviction came to every mind that the enemy's squadron had escaped. Still

to the last some hopes yet remained, until we got into the outer harbour, and found that the inner anchorage was unoccupied.

Regrets and disappointment were unbounded, and felt by none so deeply, though silently, as by the commander, who had, I am sure, sacrificed the quick impulses of his nature, and the honourable promptings of ambition, for the caution which his judgment dictated to him was his duty.

The Sibylle anchored in the outer harbour, whilst the Hornet got up steam, and soon worked into the middle passage, sounding as she went. In the centre of it, and round the position formerly occupied by the advanced corvette, there was enough water for the Hornet, yet for the entrance of the Sibylle the channel was almost impracticable. The southern passage was now, however, clear of ice, and was evidently the right channel for frigates and large vessels. The telescopes searching in every direction revealed nothing stirring on the shore; the Hornet was, therefore, "stopped" in front of some rough log buildings and wharfs, and two boats with armed crews were despatched towards them.

As we approached them there were no evidences of life, human or animal, and we ran the boats ashore on some logs, roughly prepared to form a pier, and ascended the steep banks.

Immediately in front of us were six roughly hewn log buildings, similar to those of the backwoodsmen in America, in different stages of completion, two in a state of habitableness, two nearly so, and two without roofs, and with the rough pine floors only half lain. They were each about forty feet long and fifteen wide; and the two more finished houses had lately been occupied by troops, as was evident from the wooden trestle beds, on which some of the clothes were left; from the uniforms lying about the floors; from the still opened books; and from the numerous boxes piled in different corners. Many barrels of rye flour, some vegetables, and a few packages of seeds were likewise found.

The boxes on being opened proved to contain fur coats and other apparel, male and female, of some rich Russians, and a few official documents, letters, and a portrait of a lady.

Around these log houses the forest had been

partially cleared to an extent of nearly 100 acres, and a tolerable road ran northwards from them. We followed it a short distance, and saw a few old sows, with numerous young progenies, and the traces of houses and some smaller huts: on entering one of the latter, ovens still hot were discovered, and a large quantity of coarse black bread, quite warm.

On the first sight of the Russian squadron on the 20th it was suspected that Petropaulski had been abandoned, and that all the ships in these seas had been ordered to be concentrated in the Amùr. All we saw confirmed these suspicions that the garrison ships had been withdrawn from the sterile and scanty peopled peninsula of Kamtschatka, where even in time of peace it is found difficult to get sufficient provisions for them.

Unfortunately no one in the squadron was able to read Russian; and though the classical attainments of the amiable chaplain were cheerfully and zealously applied to decipher many Greek-like characters, very little information was obtained.

There were also some signs that the squadron had only lately quitted the bay; and the

spars of a corvette being found securely moored, seemed to intimate that it had not gone to any great distance. The position was so strong, and might have been rendered so very much stronger, that the doubts of the correctness of the assertion of the shallowness of the northern part of the gulf increased in the minds of some officers, including, I believe, the Commodore. Unless a safer retreat existed to the northwards, the Russians could hardly have found a place where they could have awaited an attack with more confidence, and from which, when beaten, they could have easier retreated, after destroying their vessels.

Looking at the narrow passages between the islands, at the thickly wooded islands on which masked batteries and riflemen could have been placed so advantageously, I was astonished that the Russians had deserted the bay; and as I still believed in the correctness of La Perouse and Broughton's dicta, that there was no passage for ships into the gulf of the Amùr, and as, above all, there was no perceptible current, or discoloration of water, which the discharge of the Amùr by this channel must have caused,—I imagined that the enemy had passed us in the fog, and that he

trusted to an early breaking up of the ice in the Sea of Okhotsk to allow his ships to enter the Amùr by the north, round Cape Elizabeth.

We counted the days since the Bittern had left us, and in our eagerness for reinforcements conceived that she might beat down to Hakodadi, against the constant southerly winds, by the 29th, or perhaps even by the 28th; and that, under a press of sail, three, or at most four, days would suffice to bring two or three ships up to settle the question of the practicability of the southern passage into the Amùr before the next spring tides. How faithfully and how assuredly every one seemed to rely on the Bittern's unremitting beat, and the far easier run of the reinforcements before the constant breeze. The Bittern, as expected, nobly redeemed its pledge, by arriving off Hakodadi on the 29th May;—the reinforcements reached La Baie de la Jonquière on the 25th June! and never looked into De Castries Bay, nor bent a sail, until a rare northerly wind tempted a speedy return to the south!! and for five months the Russians were permitted, unvisited and unmolested, to strengthen any position they chose to take up!!!

CHAP. IV.

Sail to the South. — Strange Sail at Night. — Quarters. — Stranger runs into Hornet.— An American.— Flagship seen and joined.—Cruising near Cape Crillon. — Land. — Reinforcements. — Go North again. — Slow Pace.—Again reach Baie de la Jonquière. — Squadron remains there. — Hasty Reconnoitre of the Head of Gulf of Tartary.— Squadron returns to Cape Crillon. — French Ships arrive. — Departure of Flagship for Japan.

On the 29th May we stood out to sea, beating against the southerly breeze and its constant accompaniment of fog, caused by the warm air from the more temperate regions coming in contact with the lately thawed waters of the gulf. Sometimes the fogs were so thick that the horizon was bounded by a radius of 100 yards; generally it was not so dense; and frequently it was a light haze obstructing all view of the other ships, yet only dimly veiling the rays of the sun, which glared a shapeless brightness through it.

At our first entrance into these unsurveyed seas, the frequent fogs caused much trouble to the consorts of the Sibylle to keep their

stations, and were apparently attended by risks of getting ashore: it was soon found, however, that a near approach to the shore brought the vessels into clearer weather, and that a lane of water free from fog, of from three to six miles in width, runs along the coasts, which radiate the heat received from the hot summer sun of these regions.

We continued to beat down towards our daily expected reinforcements, with the wet fog ever around us, till on the evening of the 4th June, after a few hours of clearer weather, a sail was reported about six miles to the north-west. We instantly began to run towards her: it was just before dark: night signals were made on approaching her; and as they were unanswered, the ships prepared for action, the Hornet "getting up steam." The night was dark, and there was some difficulty in keeping close to the stranger, who was under easy sail: the sailors were lying down near their guns, and everything ready for immediate action, until sometime after midnight, when the Hornet hailed "She is an American whaler;" and then with some laughter most of the "idlers" "turned in."

Early dawn showed our new acquaintance in a sad plight. The Hornet, in her anxiety to keep near the stranger, had been run into, with the loss to the whaleship of her bowsprit and other slighter damages. In a few hours the master of the stranger came on board, and summed up the history of a three years' unsuccessful search for whales by recounting the past night's disaster. Proper assistance was at once given him, and during the performance of the necessary repairs he communicated the information which many years' knowledge of the Sea of Okhotsk had enabled him to acquire.

The whales of "the right sort," it appears, pass through the Straits of La Perouse early in May, or as soon as they are clear of ice, and, avoiding the floating ice near to, and the ice-bound eastern coast of Sagalien, proceed by the eastern shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, until near the latitude of Jonas Island, when they stretch across, as the season and fields of ice permit, towards the Shantar Isles, in the bays and inlets of which the young are brought forth and reared in July and August.

It required two days to effect the chief

repairs to the whale-ship. On the morning of the 7th, two sail being seen, we stood towards them, and quickly ascertained that they were the Winchester and Spartan frigates. Instantly the long repressed desire for news and letters from home was rekindled, and the return of the cutter with the heavy mail-bags anxiously watched. "The Emperor is dead," was the first hurriedly given news; and it was with no little nervousness that a reply to the demand of "which Emperor?" was listened for; and sudden and startling as was the announcement of the Czar's decease during the war he had so wilfully brought on, there yet predominated a feeling of relief, that the oft-attempted and valuable life of the Emperor of the French had not been cut short.

From the 7th to the 15th we continued under easy sail near the same spot, and rumours were rife that we were awaiting the arrival of two French frigates, and of the mail of April, which it was understood the steamship Styx was to bring up from Shanghai. How galling the delay must have been to the gallant men, who keenly felt the tem-

porary escape of the Russian squadron, can be understood by every Englishman; and I hope I shall never forget the noble examples of self-restraint imposed by the superior officers upon their eagerness to advance, and of cheerful and respectful obedience to orders, at the first blush, at all events, distasteful to the bold daring of our seamen.

On the 15th, the squadron, now augmented to three frigates, a steam corvette, and a brig, anchored near Cape Crillon, the south-western extremity of the island of Sagalien; and the boats were soon busied in watering the vessels from a clear stream. We landed at no great distance from a Japanese fishing station,—the Ainos, as the natives are called, coming down to the shore to meet us. Their subjection to the Japanese was visible in their adoption of the custom of shaving the crown of the head, in their use of the Japanese salutation, and in their clothes: they had also contracted a sullenness of bearing, very unlike the freer and manlier port of the natives in the north. One of them understood Japanese, and our interpreter was able to comprehend his replies sufficiently to ascertain that the southern

portion of the coasts of the island was under Japanese rule; and that, as the streams abounded in salmon, salting and drying houses were established near them; and that dried salmon was exported with large quantities of fish manure to Matsmai, upon which principality this colony depended.

We likewise learnt that, five years previously, some Russian settlers had arrived, and that most of the Japanese had retired, until last summer a few ships had embarked the Russians, and that then the Japanese had returned in great numbers.

Independently of its probable wealth in furs, there was much in the view of the land before us to tempt a far weaker appetite for aggrandisement than that of the Czar. When we passed it four weeks earlier, it did not look inviting; but now no snow was to be seen, even on the mountain summits in the distance; whilst at our feet was a rich soil, covered with luxuriant grasses, often five or six feet high; and wild-briar, raspberry, geranium, rose-bushes, and lilies, were springing up on all sides around us: it certainly seemed as if all the crops and fruits of the more northern

temperate zone would flourish here, and that the well-timbered hill-sides would afford supplies for generations.

Politically considered, the command of the Straits of La Perouse is needed by Russia, to secure a ready communication between the Amùr and the Kurile Islands and her other possessions dependent on the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia at Irkutsk; and it would place her in an authoritative attitude towards Japan and Corea, and tend to render the Sea of Japan a Russian lake. Twice during this century have the Siberian governors authorised attacks on Aniwa; and the last expedition was placed under the orders of the aide-de-camp of the present governor-general, Mouravieff, who is a brother of the Russian commander-in-chief in Armenia and Georgia, and supposed, with his brother, to have been most highly considered by the late Czar Nicholas.

On the 16th, the Styx steam corvette and the Tartar, a steam-tender, joined the squadron, bringing the English papers of April 10th, which quite destroyed all the *Chateaux en Espagne* founded on the chance of peace; and

the following day the ships at length turned their bows towards the north, running before the constant southerly wind, and within a few miles of the green and wooded hills of Sagalien. The water near the shore was warmer than it had been; and we saw large numbers of immense whales in pairs, playing on the smooth surface of the lakelike gulf, and seemingly in intense enjoyment of the lovely weather. Their unwieldy gambols commenced with rolling over and over; then, with their huge broad tails—flukes—for a second high above the liquid plain, they would plunge downwards, reappearing one after the other, spouting volumes of water; they would then lie supinely extended for a few minutes before renewing their uncouth play "of which there seemed no end."

Many seals also, with noses erect, followed the ships occasionally; one especially interested us, as it looked quite tired, and frequently attempted to get up by the rudder chains, showing, as its body half emerged from the sea, large discolorations on its skin, resembling wounds, and uttering very doglike breathings; it pertinaciously strove to get

repose on some portion of the rudder, until a stone from an idle hand drove it away.

Three days of delightful weather, without very much wind, were coming to a close, when a fresh breeze set in on the evening of the 20th, attended by slight symptoms of a coming fog; and we had just commenced speculating on what we should see next morning at De Castries Bay, when the squadron was "brought to the wind," and "lay to" till the subsequent evening. The Styx and Tartar were shortly seen going southwards, to the astonishment and regret of almost every one, I believe; for the departure of the Tartar proved that it was no longer intended to use her as a pioneer for the Amùr, for which her draught of eight or nine feet seemed to qualify her; and the withdrawal of the only remaining steam-ship capable of towing a large frigate appeared to intimate that no attack would be made on the enemy's squadron, even if found at anchor; and upon many high gallant spirits "coming events" cast their deep shadow.

The breeze moderated, but the fog continued for some days, with an horizon changing from 200 to 800 or 900 yards, varied only by occa-

sional short clearings up, when the squadron was generally found in pretty good order of sailing, and without any press of sail. The decks were sometimes dried by the dimly-seen sun, whilst shrouds, rigging, and sails were dropping continuously; and at these times the warmth of the sun was cheering and pleasant. On the third day, having lost all sounds from the rest of the squadron, the Sibylle's bow was turned to the eastern shore; and in a few hours, from the mast-head, the three peculiar pinnacle rocks off Cape La Jonquière were descried above the fog, and were shortly afterwards seen from the deck at a distance of six or seven miles, whilst to seaward the fog prevailed as thick as ever.

We had the little inlet to ourselves, and landed in the evening soon after the Sibylle had anchored. The natives appeared to be less reserved than on our former visit, and showed greater anxiety to procure European clothes, exchanging seal-skins and seal-skin fishing boots for flannel waistcoats or seamen's frocks. It was difficult to make them think of anything else. A present of tobacco gathered together a small knot of them, and one

of the most intelligent began to comprehend the signs made, and to answer them by similar pantomime. Thus by pointing to each shore, and tracing an outline of them on the sands, they were incited to complete them towards the north, which they did at once vociferously and unanimously, by almost joining the two shores, then expanding them into a lake, and then tracing a river on the western side, dotting towns on each bank, to which they gave names, and allotting some to "Lorchas" (Russians) and others to "Manchus" (Tartars).

The narrow channel was represented as more than twelve feet deep. A few feet more than the depth of their poles would be unfathomable by them however, so that some doubt may legitimately arise on this point; and they expressed the relative distances of the several places by signs implying the number of times they would sleep *en route.* This was vague information, as we could not learn how far a good day's pulling would take them. Yet, on the whole, the impression conveyed to my mind was, that a steamer of small draft could, if unopposed, easily get into the gulf of the Amùr, and might possibly pass

into the river Amùr. And I yet trusted to be amongst the first to solve a geographical question, rather mysteriously evaded by Russian surveyors, and unauthoritatively discussed by the great German physicists.

The sun rose brightly over the distant mountains the next morning, and lighted up the park-like scenery on the banks of the river so cheerfully, that the desire to get ashore with our guns nearly mastered the eager wishes for the reunion of the squadron, which led so many eyes to search the foggy seaward horizon, in the hope that the ever favouring southerly breeze would immediately be made use of; and, as the wind freshened, we began to dread that the other vessels had gone on without us. During the day, however, the ships successively appeared out of the fog, and all came in to the anchorage except the Spartan, which was directed to remain outside, and did not anchor till the following day, when, as nothing indicated a move to sea, several shooting and fishing parties were organised, with the enthusiastic determination of enjoying themselves conceivable by those who have been long debarred these sports.

My friend and I prepared for a long day's shooting through the woods, and, on landing, seduced a lazy native, by the offer of a little tobacco and the promise of more, to show us the way up to the hills. We left the village by a small footpath, apparently leading to the hilly country on our right hand, and had not gone a quarter of a mile when the guide began to incline to his left hand, and, despite of our remonstrances, gradually got us down into the swamp which borders the river, and endeavoured to leave us, making signs for us to remain there and hide ourselves to watch for ducks. This was not the game we were in search of, and we tried to turn the guide towards the hill once more. A little tobacco overcame his reluctance for a few paces; it soon returned, and he threw himself on the ground in a state of perspiration, pointed to the sun, shook his black and wildly-tressed head, and by signs intimated that any more such exercise would make him sick: tobacco lost its power, and other presents offered to him availed as little to move him; so we left him in the grass, and, accompanied by two

seamen, took the first path up the hill, through beech, fir, and thick underwood.

We had gone only a few hundred yards, when E., who was leading, and just before me, suddenly stopped, held up his hand, and commenced drawing the small shot from one of his barrels. I followed his example, and put a ball in each barrel. When he had loaded, he whispered, "a bear," and slowly advanced. Something like a wave in the underwood of a ravine close at hand half tempted me to fire; but I resisted, and followed E. quietly, who in a minute or two, seeing or hearing nothing more, told me that he had been close to a black bear, and had restrained himself from firing with small shot. We searched the surrounding brushwood, and soon discovered a lair, which a very large animal had evidently only just quitted.

So speedy a "find" encouraged us to mount the hill with alacrity, though it was severe walking, on account of the numerous large trees lying on the ground, and completely hidden by the luxuriant growth of underwood. We continued to ascend and descend for some hours through large pine woods, or

ravines of young beech and birch; occasionally, from the hill-tops, gaining fine views of the richly-wooded country on each side of the river, or loitering hidden by their crests, vainly expecting that deer would cross the fine grassy slopes below us; but our day passed unsuccessfully, and we returned to the beach to hear equally unfortunate reports from the anglers.

The natives showed us that if they could not walk, they were able to do something; for four of them got into a slight, long plank canoe, fastened by wooden pegs, and propelled by small sculls, which are pulled alternately, and lay for some minutes near the three pinnacle rocks, beyond our view of their proceedings, and then pulled home singing; upon which the population of the village turned out immediately, and ran in great excitement to the beach. We followed the movement, and saw the boat pulled up and a large seal lying in it half dead. The captors left the seal in the care of an elderly man, who advanced with a large knife and quickly killed and skinned the animal, and prepared it for cooking.

The apparatus used in catching the seal is

very simple. A wooden spear with a hard wooden point barbed, has a long line of dried skin attached to the barb, which line, on the spear being thrown at the sleeping seal, is rapidly "given out" from the bottom of the boat. As the seal swims away, loss of blood soon makes him faint, and he is dragged into the boat. The spear itself, on the seal being struck, is detached from its barb and floats on the surface and is quickly recovered.

The seal, with sun-dried unsalted fish, is the food of both natives and their worshipped bears, and large supplies of each are easily procurable.

Subsequently H. and I spent a long rainy day in the river, having pulled some miles up it with the idea of catching trout if the rain ceased. A great number of pigeons fell to H.'s gun, and many ducks and a large swan were seen by us. The country everywhere presented the same evidences of a rich soil, and the easily worked vein of coal near its mouth will no doubt induce the Russians to make a settlement here; for though its title to be called a bay is unfounded, yet as long as summer lasts there is protection for small vessels

against southerly gales; and a four hours' sail alone separates it from the fine harbour in De Castries Bay.

The auxiliary steam corvette hoisted the commodore's broad pendant on the afternoon of the 27th, and proceeded to sea. Rumours were rife that she was ordered to look into De Castries Bay at daylight, and then, if no enemy was seen there, to search the bays and inlets to the northward. The next morning broke with heavy rain and thick mist, and hopes were again buoyant that the boats of the squadron would be sent, on the return of the Hornet, to discover the enemy's position, the frigates advancing as far as practicable, probably thirty or even possibly forty miles, and the smaller vessels much further, to cover and protect the boats; and as the corvette steamed in at the early summer dawn of this latitude, the fresh northerly breeze and bright clear sky seemed to lessen the chances of getting ashore, and diminish the risks of accidents. Risks! how often that fatal word is used as a shelter for imbecility and indecision! As if war was a certain game at each move, even with the immense preponderance of the allied

squadrons! It was soon known to all that no enemy's vessels had been seen, and the alacrity of getting the ships under weigh promised a speedy settlement of the much-canvassed passage to the north. Alas! in a few minutes each vessel, with every sail set,—an unknown spectacle in our progress to the north,—was flying to the south before the pleasant breeze!

We have since learnt from Russian prisoners, that at that time, late as it was, only half their vessels had got through the passage never even reconnoitred by us!

We ran back to Cape Crillon before a fresh, not *very* fresh and rare northerly breeze, in two days and a half; near which the squadron had cruised in our latest advance from the 7th to the 17th of June, and from which, before the constant southerly breeze, it had taken seven days to reach la Baie de la Jonquière.

"Hurry and haste" seemed suddenly to have taken the place of "caution" at the wheel; and even the sudden appearance of the two long-expected French frigates could only arrest this rapid flight for an hour: after which pause the noble white flag, with its

chivalrous red cross, was again floating before the wind towards the south,

> "Hay cosas que se dicen
> Con pensarlas solamente!"

whilst the setting sun shone on the remaining four frigates and the corvette bearing up for the Straits of La Perouse.

CHAP. V.

Allied Squadron left at Cape Crillon. — Further Objects to be attained. — State of French Frigate Sibylle. — Anchor in Aniwa Bay. — Fishing Station of Japanese. — Inspect it. — Japanese Rule over Southern Sagalien, despotic. — Fertility of the Island. — La Sibylle proceeds to the South, the Squadron to the North. — Sea of Okhotsk. — Perpetual Fogs. — Coldness of its Waters. — Evidences of Discharge of a large Body of fresh Water. — Distance of the River Amùr. — Its Current encountered. — Fall in with H. M. S. Barracouta. — History of the Doings of the Pacific Squadrons. — Off extreme Northern Point of Sagalien. — Currents. — Deception of Obman Bay. — Endeavour to enter Gulf of the Amùr. — Difficulties. — Saw a Brig inside. — Movements indicative of being Russian. — Further Trials to find Passage. — Soundings. — Try the Western Shore. — Approach near Brig. — Deserted and set on Fire. — Visited. — Half the Crew captured. — Information from Prisoners.

It was soon whispered that we were to attack Aian, the new capital of the government of Okhotsk, and a strongly fortified town on the sea of that name; and the gradual escape of such news somewhat raised the hopes of the disappointed. The next day, however, a boat from the French commodore's frigate brought a despatch for our commo-

dore, and in a few hours we were steering for the anchorage at the head of Aniwa Bay; and it subsequently appeared that so little time for communication had been given on the previous day, that the commander of La Sibylle, the French fifty-gun frigate, had not been able to notify the state of his crew, of which above a hundred were suffering from scurvy, nor even, it was hinted, had either of the French captains been offered time to send a single letter, though proceeding on a service which might cut them off from all communication with Europe for two more months. To alleviate the sufferings of the daily fast-increasing scurvy patients, it was absolutely necessary to get to anchor, and allow the crew to search for anti-scorbutic vegetables.

The Gulf of Aniwa is a large indent formed by the deep bend from the south-eastern to the south-western points of the island of Sagalien, and is about sixty miles wide and fifty deep; its two extremities forming the northern limits to the Straits of La Perouse, which are from twenty to twenty-ve miles broad, with a rapid current to the

eastward. We skirted the western shore of the gulf, which, like the rest of the island, was rich and pretty, and watered by numerous small streams rushing quickly from the mountains, never far distant from the coasts. At the head of the gulf the water is very shoal, and the squadron anchored nearly eight miles from it, under the shelter of a point, near which were the Japanese factories, built on the rich "flats" of the several snug little valleys so frequent on the coast.

There were no rigid Japanese customs here: no harbour-master pulled off with the port regulations in a little wooden box, no guard-boats surrounded us, no preparations nor musterings of police officers were visible on the shore; we landed without obstruction or ceremony on a beach crowded by fishing-nets, drying-posts, huge iron boilers, and emitting the most disgusting mal-odours from the everywhere-spread fish manure. The Ainos were found busily employed filling sacks with this manure, under the superintendence of a few Japanese, who were rather sullen at first in their reception of us, perhaps imagining that our squadron was about to repeat the

lesson taught by Russia. To the Ainos we were incomprehensible; we did not prostrate ourselves before the Japanese, neither did we force the Japanese to kneel before us: for some time, when we met the natives, they would stop instantly and sink on the ground; but this habit did not last long, whether discontinued by direction of the Japanese, or as fear of us diminished, we could not discover. The governor of the settlement was sought out, and a large, fat, good-natured, and unpolished individual was presented. He, we soon found, was a very civil, obliging person; but at the period of our visit all the settlers were in a state of apprehension, as high dignitaries from Matsmai were in the colony making the annual inspection of the probable value of the fisheries. That the amount of salmon taken must be prodigious, was evinced by the numbers drying or dried, salting or salted; by the manure manufactories on every side; and by the quantities of fresh fish brought off each day to the squadron: one day, indeed, 600 salmon, from three to seven pounds weight, were sent on board the English Sibylle.

There were a few temples in the different

villages we passed through; and generally two descriptions of houses, one sort tolerably built of rough logs for the Japanese, and the other being mere huts raised on the ground, and crowded into by the Ainos, and often only half rescued from the surrounding forest and underwood.

One temple, dedicated to the powers of nature, proved that beyond using the Ainos as labourers, and accustoming them to require a few clothes, they do not endeavour to civilise them: the Japanese would also appear to make frequent use of their swords, for the almost invariable signs made by the natives, descriptive of their rulers, were shakes of the head, followed by applications of the sides of their hands with a cutting motion to their own necks. I suspect that more implicit obedience is not to be found in the world; and it extends even to what is generally held to excuse disobedience in the most tyrannical governments,—the frequent severance of the conjugal tie, which knot, from all I saw or heard, and from the numerical equalities of the sexes, I imagine is as strong a bond as amongst other wild northern tribes.

The weather for the past month had been delightfully cool. Close to the land on all sides, we now felt something like English August heat, and it was a great pleasure to walk through the thick woods with our guns; and even though the grasses and nettles were six or seven feet high in the valleys, and the underwood close and tall, we every day fancied we could get some game, and toiled away for hours at the expense of the lives of a few pigeons. The luxuriance of wild flowers and shrubs, much as we had seen of the island, astonished us: yellow lilies and roses were in great numbers and in great beauty; and raspberries, celery, angelica, and a species of rhubarb, were seen almost at each step. On the higher land the wood was chiefly pine; on the lower birch, with fruit trees and willows.

The medical officers decided that it was better for the crew of the French Sibylle to be landed, and the vessel thoroughly cleansed; so that she was at length left in the Gulf of Aniwa on the 10th, whilst the other ships recommenced their voyage to the north. No sooner had we got into the Sea of

Okhotsk than the thick fogs surrounded us, and we were a week so accompanied, with only occasional clearings, running before the prevalent southerly wind, seeing nothing beyond a very limited horizon of sea, and hearing the constant pattering of the fog drops collected on shrouds, sails, or ropes. It was a dreary-looking sea, and the water, hundreds of miles before reaching the northern cape of the island, was discoloured and cold, though very deep. Listening for the answers to our signal guns, or watching, as the fog gradually "lifted," for the reappearance of our consorts, were, with the morning and evening music of the band, the only reliefs to the chilly monotony of the day.

On the morning of the 17th a momentary clearing up showed a bold mountainous shore a few miles distant, and enabled us to perceive that we were still sailing against a current of some force, though upwards of a hundred miles from the mouth of the Amùr, the water being more discoloured than before. The charts proved that we were forty or fifty miles to the S. S.W. of Cape Elizabeth,

the most northern point of Sagalien. In the afternoon, during another and longer "lift" of the fog, a large steamer was descried five or six miles distant, under sail. She instantly put her funnel up, and began to "get up" steam with the view of passing us by going in the teeth of the wind which had lately veered round to the north; she likewise seemed preparing for action. Before many minutes the private signals were shown, and answered, and the stranger made her number — it was H. M. S. Barracouta; and as she had been sent some months previously to join the force prepared against Petropauloski, the arrival of her commander on board afforded information of the allied squadrons having found that place deserted and disarmed in June, and of the Russians having quitted it on the 17th of April for the Amùr, taking away guns, stores, and a few troops in their vessels. The Barracouta, Amphitrite, and Pique frigates had subsequently visited the northern entrance to the Amùr and Aian, and seen neither ships, guns, nor troops. The latter place was described as a miserable settlement on the skirts of the forest belonging

to the Fur Company. So faded the romance of this strongly fortified town, and with the romance fled all hopes of seeing the enemy: the real discouragement consisted in the discovery, now patent to all classes, of how miserably deficient was the information concerning the possessions of a power we were at war with, and whose encroachments in the extreme East have been carried onwards without any accurate knowledge of them being sought for.

What remained to be done? Where were the enemy's ships? So near the northern entrance of the Amùr, and feeling its cold waters running by us, there seemed a chance of finding a passage in, though all the accounts from whale-ship captains combined in asserting its intricacy and danger even if it existed. The Barracouta joined the squadron, which shaped its course for the Amùr: it anchored off Obman Bay (Deception Bay) on the 22nd, which on the chart looked as if capable of concealing an enemy's squadron. We did not understand Russian on board, or we should have avoided the search made on the following day.

Obman Bay is an irregular circular inlet of

about ten miles diameter, connected with the sea by a narrow and shallow passage: a very small extent of anchorage exists even for small vessels, and the general depth varies from one foot to six! It is a magnificent looking sheet of water, with pretty wooded scenery round it; and is, I suppose, one of the most animated breeding places for wild fowl in the world. Ducks of numerous kinds, geese, teal, and swans might be procured in large numbers; and my accomplished companion, l'officier d'ordonnance of the French commodore, who had frequently given vent to his feelings by the expression "J'adore la chasse," could hardly be dissuaded from landing, and, as the anchorage was an illusion, having a day's sport. This, from the appearance of some of the houses near the forest, might have ended in a promenade to the Nicholauski fortress on the Amùr, continued by stages to Irkutsk! for in most of the projecting points on the coast an officer and a few men were posted, who retired into the forest on the approach of vessels of war, and despatched the news, but hung about sufficiently near to capture those who strayed. There remained no other objects of interest, save that

of finding the entrance through the channel before us. The waters of the river had imparted a yellowish greenness to the current flowing swiftly past us: on one side stretched a long sandy spit nearly half across the passage, whilst above and below this tongue were low sand-hills crowned by stunted fir-trees; on the opposite and western shore, bold bluffs and headlands, quickly rising into mountain ranges, bounded the view. Beyond these were the black and rapid waters of the Sagalien or Amùr; a few miles through forests and mountain passes, and all we wished to know would have been opened before us.

Though the channel was so broad and its current so strong, we had no doubts of the powerful steamer's success in threading its reputed mazes; and the first trial, with every promise of success, was made near the termination of the sandy spit, round which the stream rushed with impetuosity. Towards this point, leaving the frigates eight or nine miles distant from it, the steamer boldly advanced: it had proceeded three or three and a half miles, and was in six fathoms, when the water shoaled; and before the orders to "stop her"

and "back her" could be carried out, she had bumped on the hard sands. The strength of the current, playing upon her, kept her from being "well in hand:" but with great good fortune she slid off, after three or four hard bumps, into five fathoms. This was a severe lesson, and it reacted, perhaps fatally, on the previous energetic and zealous hopes of those responsible for the safety of the vessel. The boats were soon afterwards sent in advance by a channel more to the eastward, and at about four miles from the spit the steamer's anchor was dropped. A brig had previously been seen under sail; it had worked its way into the gulf of the Amùr, and was probably about twenty miles from the mouth of the river; no colours were shown by it, and the frigate's taller masts had evidently been seen earlier than the enemy, who was slowly moving under easy sail eight or nine miles from the frigate. The sight of the retiring enemy, and the difficulties attending the discovery of a channel by boats against a rapid current, added zest to the zeal of all employed; and I was a witness, for the two succeeding days, to the untiring patience and devoted perseverance with which officers and men

crossed and recrossed the interval between the steamer and the sandy point, *from* which into the gulf a deep channel was quickly found, but *to* which the continuous and well-directed efforts of those employed could find no approach for our vessels.

Foiled on the eastern shore, the steamer was sent to the bolder western coast, and, by keeping near it, succeeded in arriving nearly abreast of the sandy spit, and within four miles of the new advanced position gained by the brig, which looked like a merchantman. Though there was four fathoms of water, it was deemed prudent to anchor; and the boats of the squadron attached to the steamer were on the point of being ordered to cut out the brig, I believe, when smoke was seen rising from her, and five boats leaving her. Our boats immediately went in chase; yet such was the force of the current that the commander's galley, pulled by a strong crew animated by the hopes of saving the burning prize, took three hours in passing the four miles which separated us from the brig! which blew up when we were half a mile distant, causing her to settle on

the shoal, her stern and part of her port quarter being blown out by the explosion. She proved to be an armed trader, of six or eight guns, with a pendant flying, and full of stores and provisions; and the only portion of the blazing mass approachable was the fore part; and a small iron gun, a bell, a few books and papers, and her pendant, were taken from her. We remained beside her until both masts fell, and we watched with interest the arduous stern chase of the other boats, alternately aground and ashore, or dragged by main force over the sandy flats. The crews for twelve hours laboured at their oars, and were rewarded by capturing two boats and fourteen men. The latter were valuable prizes, in our lamentable state of ignorance, geographical and political; and from them we learned that the vessel burnt was the Okhotsk, belonging to the Russian Fur Company, armed with eight guns, and trading with provisions between Aian and Peteroffski, a small bay behind us. On this occasion, however, a master in the Russian navy had been ordered to pilot her into the Amùr, which he had been already, with favourable winds, twelve days in

accomplishing so far as to run her into a submarine *cul de sac*, twelve or thirteen miles distant from the mouth of the river.

The brig only drew eight feet of water: this, compared with prior information and with our own experience of the currents and shoals, together with the prisoners' asseverations that there existed no passage for ships into the river Amùr, and only by the Gulf of Tartary into the external gulf of the Amùr, seemed to decide the question of the practicability of the northern channels; and as the Okhotsk seamen were Fins, Germans, and Swedes, they soon became very communicative, and assured us that the Russian squadron had been seen at anchor within the gulf of the Amùr and on its eastern shore, three weeks previously, by the master of the navy who attempted to pilot the Okhotsk into the Amùr, and who had lately been an officer of the Diana frigate. Their description of the enemy's squadron agreed with the opinions we had formed on seeing it in De Castries Bay; of the importance attached to which anchorage our further information afforded ampler evidence.

Every day accumulated proofs that the Gulf of Tartary should have been watched in force from the declaration of war; and yet eighteen months subsequently, ammunition and provisions were passing upwards from China and Batavia unchallenged and unseized.

CHAP. VI.

Steer towards Aian. — Fogs. — Arrival at Aian. — Its Appearance. — Is deserted. — Land. — Information derived from chief Factor. — Dig for buried Guns and Stores. — Ill Success of Search. — Find concealed China. — Use of Settlement to Russia. — The Natives. — Archbishop. — Interview with him. — Barracouta leaves Squadron. — Returns with half of the Diana's shipwrecked Crew. — Sick Russians put on Shore. — Salmon and Trout caught. — Landing of Seamen. — Reflections. — Sail again for Cape Elizabeth. — Meet H. M. S. Encounter. — Southwards through Sea of Okhotsk. — Arrive at Aniwa Bay. — Skirt Shores of Sagalien, and Risiri and Rifunsiri Islands. — Conduct and Appearance of Russian Prisoners. — Distance at which Capes were visible. — Pass Matsmai. — Enter Sangar Straits. — Arrive at Hakodadi.

THE water is cold in this sea; even at the end of July it was seldom above 40° of Fahrenheit, so that a southerly wind was invariably attended by fog, whilst the chilly northerly breeze kept the temperature of the air much nearer that of the water, and consequently clearer. The fogs accompanied us to Aian, leaving us for three days the dreary prospect of a sea horizon of two or three hundred yards; and the chilling

drippings of the fog on the deck were the cheerless sounds which met the ear "from morn to dewy eve." It was impossible in these seas, whose currents were unknown, without midday observations to have a tolerably accurate idea of the ship's position; and still former experience dictated a bold seeking of the shore as the safest method of gaining the harbour sought for; so in a thick fog on the 2nd of August the Sibylle daringly ran on until a rocky, iron-bound coast presented itself, rising clearly with a bright sun shining over it, and seen from a distance of four or five miles. The seamen of the Okhotsk did not at first recognise it: a gradual advance, however, soon recalled to them the striking and picturesque features of the harbour they had so lately quitted—Aian.

It is a shallow and narrow inlet, broken by projecting points, or rocks, into three small basins—the exterior being a roadstead, and the innermost only fit for steamers and small vessels; indeed the whole aspect of the harbour resembled more an artist's study of Highland lake scenery than the proud emporium of Siberian trade, for the defence

of which all the resources of Russian engineering had been lavished! The latter was represented by three slight earthen batteries en banquette, which a steam corvette ought to have silenced successively in a quarter of an hour if the neighbouring heights had not been occupied; and yet it was before similar batteries constructed by the Russian seamen of a frigate and a transport, designed by naval officers, and built under their superintendence, that the allied squadron suffered the ignominious repulse of Petropaulski!

No wonder that the Russians are proud! The war found the professions dedicated to war ready for war; and whether at Sebastopol, or at the extremities of the empire in the East, professional talent and command were found combined; whilst Cronstadt has defied menace, and Sveabourg has only been bombarded at a distance. Dare any English officer of reputation prophesy the same of Gibraltar or of Malta? The enemy has taught us a lesson; I trust that professional bigotry will allow us to benefit by it.

An American whale ship was at anchor

in the inner harbour: her master came off, and informed us that since the departure of the first English squadron nothing had changed in the port; and that it was still deserted. We landed, and saw a large storehouse, and a pier belonging to the Russian Fur Company, as two Americans living in it informed us. We strolled through the small settlement, consisting of six separate wooden houses in a row, with a small Greek church at the end of the village; and sentiments of pity for the women and children who had been driven by fear from this rude settlement into the adjoining forests were the predominant feelings of all. The disposition and the judgment of the Commodore, I presume, alike led him to promise the strictest adherence to the proclamation inviting the return of the inhabitants, issued by the commander of the first squadron which visited the port: the houses unfortunately had in the interim been ruthlessly rifled by the crews of two whale ships, the names of which are known; and I trust the honour of an adventurous and daring profession will lead those engaged in it to take the proper steps

to prevent a recurrence of so barbarous an outrage; and as from three to four hundred American ships are so employed in this sea, the national honour is somewhat implicated.

On our second visit, the German gentleman at the head of the factory and a Russian employé met us; and it was distressing to observe the dread which, in spite of all promises of protection, the presence of the squadron caused. These gentlemen opened their stores and houses for inspection: in one of the last the Archbishop of Eastern Siberia and of Russian America was living, and we were requested to visit him. We found a tall, handsome, and aged prelate, in the peculiarly becoming dress of his Church, with flowing hair and beard of snowy whiteness: he received us with great courtesy and benignity. Conversation could only be carried on in Russian and English through the German chief factor's interpretership, as Greek and Latin were unknown to us for conversational purposes. The Archbishop thanked the Commodore for the security promised to Aian, and on wine, caviare, and biscuits being introduced, proposed the toast of "Speedy Peace."

He then very kindly offered to accompany us to the church, a plain little wooden edifice, with an altar surrounded by pictures of saints and of Madonnas; bright and clear, though indifferent in design and execution. With some childish vanity he also produced his vestments and the symbols of his pastoral office, as in his house he had shown us a lithographic sketch of himself taken nearly twenty years previously by Sir Edward Belcher.

We met a few of the Yakùts, who inhabit this extensive province to the number, I believe, of six or eight hundred thousand. They have Mongolian faces, dark hair and eyes, are of small stature and of a brown colour, and do not appear to be hardy, nor should I imagine them to be brave: a few militiamen permitted to be raised by the Fur Company suffice to keep the communications open and the port secure. Bullocks are brought down in large droves every autumn, and a few furs are obtained also; but the chief wealth of Aian is in the imports from Sitka and Russian America for the Chinese markets along the Amùr. Most of the necessaries of civilised life are imported by the whale ships; yet the place is sad, dreary,

and unhealthy; except, perhaps, when the four months' fog, called summer, is over, and intense cold and bright weather comes as a relief, and frost with great intensity reigns until May: then is the season of pleasure, the merry jingling of the sleigh bells, and rapid flight over the ice, affording animated amusement during the short daylight; whilst within each room burns with unseen glow the Russian stove in all its cheerless magnitude. It is more Siberian than Siberia; and to complete the desolateness of such exile, the only peaceful joy, "unexcised of kings," which comes to all,—domestic happiness,—is embittered at its springs, as children of European parents, however healthy and pure their blood, born at Aian, are invariably scrofulous. The family of the gentleman who gave me this information was suffering from this calamity, and it seemed to fill up the measure of the regrets with which he looked back on his Fatherland.

Intelligence of later date than ours had been received at Aian, and the Russian papers were placed in the hands of the Okhotsk's crew without our gaining much news beyond reported disastrous accidents to our men-of-

war in the Baltic. The bulletin announcing the Emperor Nicholas' death had been received at Aian in forty-eight days: the quickest expresses, during good travelling weather, which includes the whole year with the exception of two months before the short summer and a month at its termination, generally require about fifty days. Ordinarily the mail leaves St. Petersburg for Irkutsk twice a week; between the latter and Yakutsk the communication is by the Lena twice a month; and from thence, once a month, the forests and swamps extending for 800 miles, between Yakutsk and Aian, are crossed on horseback. The transport of a family, however, is a serious matter, as these last 800 miles can only be traversed on horseback, and food and baggage must be carried in the same manner, for villages and hamlets are "few and far between." The intelligent chief factor assured us that for such an undertaking six months were requisite, and dilated on the *agrémens* of the cities passed *en route*, especially particularising the beauty, extent, and population of the capital of Eastern Siberia—Irkutsk,—with its immense agricultural and

mineral resources. This subject I afterwards found the Russian officers and employés very fond of enlarging on, taking great pains to assure us of the value and salubrity of Southern Siberia, and that it was the great field of geographical enterprise in Russia, and one so popular that large funds were at the disposal of the societies formed to prosecute discoveries in Central and Eastern Asia.

The Okhotsk brig had been lying in the harbour during the disarmament of its three small batteries, consequent on orders received in January last, which directed that Petropaulski and all the small ports and settlements were to be immediately disarmed, and were to be temporarily evacuated on the approach of any enemy's vessels. There was some precaution taken that the crew of Fins, Swedes, and Germans should not be aware of the places where the guns were buried; yet one of the Swedes imagined that he could point out the spots he had seen working parties busy at. Seamen and armed marines were therefore landed to search for these valuable deposits; yet want of success attended all the efforts to discover them, which

occupied two days, and were carried on over some extent of ground,—quite enough to reveal the danger of landing seamen to act in bodies, and to palliate one of the inexplicable mistakes made last year at Petropaulski.

The search for arms being hopeless, the seamen were led into the settlement, in the gardens of which provisions and stores were supposed to be buried. In a very few minutes the pickaxes struck against planks, and the excitement immediately rose to a great height. An opening, however, exposed to view large quantities of English and German china, glasses, and flower vases! A neighbouring row, apparently of potatoes, on being dug up, exhibited hundreds of walrus' teeth! We were evidently interfering with the retail trade of the Fur Company, and it was therefore determined to give up any further search, and to send the seamen on board. The poor chief factor was almost *au desespoir* in seeing the exposure and consequent almost necessary destruction of property so valuable to the unhappy settlers in the forests of Siberia; and it was with a becoming sense of disgrace that I saw his quick glance resting on the swollen

frock-fronts of a few thieving tars, whose conduct contrasted sadly with the general noble bearing of the seamen, and with the spirit of the orders which English officers must give on such occasions. The chief factor subsequently, with the impulse of a generous nature, took every opportunity of expressing his gratitude, and repeated it to the amiable and accomplished French Commodore, upon receiving promises of protection, made in the urbane and delicate terms so natural to our gallant allies.

A higher state of excitement arose on board on the 3rd of August, on a steamer, with a vessel in tow, emerging from the more than usually distant fog. It could only be one of the allied steamers, and the ship towed must be a prize; the latter was soon seen to be a brig. Presently signals were exchanged, and busy rumours stated that the Barracouta, which had left our squadron for Japan on the 29th of July, had taken 280 prisoners. That fine vessel soon passed over the intervening space,—a boat was lowered, the commander came on board,—and gradually it was known to all that half of the shipwrecked crew of the

Russian frigate Diana had been found at sea, within a few hours' sail of their own territories, on board a small Bremen brig.

As the fog had lifted for a short interval, the brig had been seen. Brigs and schooners in these seas are almost unknown for commercial purposes. She was boarded, and her cargo ascertained; and she was hardly taken in tow when the fog set in, and continued until the vessels came "off" Aian, in twenty-eight hours,—a most brilliant feat in towing; and glad, I suspect, the zealous and active commander was to see two English frigates ready to relieve him of some of his prisoners, who much more than doubled the number of able-bodied men in his crew.

The first lieutenant of the late Diana, bearing the illustrious name of the Russian poet, Mouschin Pouschkin, came with an exposition of his case, in the hope, as he openly stated in conversation, of being permitted to land at Aian, under the condition of not serving again against the allies, until regularly exchanged. The energy and zeal with which he pleaded his shipwreck on an inhospitable coast, the six months' detention

there, the unarmed condition of the brig, the Russian prisoners being also unarmed, and his idea that as Aian was an unfortified commercial place belonging to the Fur Company there could be no objection to landing the shipwrecked seamen, if it did not succeed in gaining his end, obtained for him the admiration and respect of those who listened to his nervous and elegant French.

I was delighted to find that contrary to the severe and somewhat barbarous "orders" and "regulations," the priest, surgeon, and sick were to be landed and placed under the charge of the chief factor, and that a letter was to be sent to the governor of the province, acquainting him with the fact, and requesting that if any of the men so landed should recover, they should not be permitted to serve against the allies until regularly exchanged. Subsequently I blushed to find that the French code, as far as it respects prisoners, was more civilised and chivalrous, as it expressly requires the speediest practicable release of *all non-combatants*,— women, priests, and civilians. A learned Russian, who had for five years been the chief of the Russian

College at Pekin,—had subsequently served as interpreter in Japan to Admiral Puniatin's late mission, — was a counsellor of the Empire, —and spoke or read most living tongues, was unfortunate enough to find himself excluded by the "orders" and "regulations."

The frigates received their share of the prisoners, and the Barracouta again set off for the south with the two lieutenants, the councillor, and about 100 seamen. The personal appearance of the Russians was soldier-like more than seaman-like; they were uniformly tall, strong, well-made men, who had served from seven to fourteen years, and had the erect gait and orderly discipline of troops of the line: indeed, that discipline was so effective, that in three months I never heard, in the gossiping chit-chat of quarter-deck strolls, any allusion to an *irregularity* on the part of the prisoners.

The fogs did not always respect the port of Aian, and though they very rarely covered it completely, they frequently veiled portions of it for short intervals, and thus occasioned peculiar effects of light and shade I have seldom seen elsewhere: the small bays in each

harbour tempted seining parties every day, and they were generally successful, catching several large white sea trout of from twelve to nineteen pounds weight, as well as great numbers of a species of salmon varying from three to five pounds weight.

The soil immediately near the numerous streams appears good: want of summer and sun will prevent any crops ripening until a general colonisation of these countries has improved the climate, and even then I fear there would be a difficulty in raising sufficient food. Wild rhubarb grows in large quantities, and we relished rhubarb tarts exceedingly, as vegetables and fruit were scarce commodities; whilst for the men, who were beginning to feel the effects of the unusually long cruise, its efficacy as an antiscorbutic was valuable indeed. Numerous wild flowers also cover the ground unoccupied by fir, birch, or brushwood; and there seemed a mockery of nature in the profusion with which the little "forget-me-nots" were scattered in so wild and bleak a country, of which, during a ten days' residence, we never once got a full and perfect view, one picturesque portion rising

into sight one day, to be veiled again by fog for several subsequent ones.

The Hornet rejoined us on the 6th August, having ineffectually endeavoured with the frigate La Constantine to reconnoitre the Shantarsk Isles and the bays to the south and west of them, which were even at this season so ice-bound that the steam corvette could not enter them. Intelligence was sent them that some of the whale ships were lost on the ice. La Constantine was close to the port on the 6th: wisely careful, her commander did not like "standing on" for the shore, and many days were passed in reaching positions within four or six miles of the Bay, whilst "standing off" was the order of the night. How much longer this baffling proceeding might have lasted is doubtful, if the masts of La Constantine had not fortunately been caught sight of on the 12th, rising above the fog, when a boat was instantly despatched to aid her in coming into a harbour so near her, which could not be seen from her deck or yards.

At daylight on the 13th August the frigate and corvette weighed anchor, and in an hour

were once more thoroughly enveloped in fog, with their figure heads peering through it southwardly; and, disappointed as were all the high hopes of entering the Amùr by the northern channel, and of encountering the enemy in their own waters and under the cover of their batteries, still a sense of proximate relief from wet fogs and cheerless cold days served to mitigate the bitter feelings which frustrated zeal, inaction, desultory plans, and ill success had gradually sown in breasts glowing with the "noblest longing for the strife" a *leader* could desire. Silently and dully the ships proceeded southwards, a damp veil often hiding them from each other; but a momentary raising up of the fog usually proved how perfect the discipline was which, for so many weeks, had kept the squadron together in unknown and mist-covered seas. On the 16th one of our consorts, lately despatched to a rendezvous to pick up any vessel sent there, was seen at anchor close to a steamer; the usual quick signals passed, and it was ere long known to all that H. M. S. Encounter had arrived from Hakodadi, where the Admiral's ship had been quietly flying

since the rare northerly breeze had wafted it from the enemy's waters. There were no letters, no papers, no provisions for us: for the French small squadron some bullocks and other necessaries were brought, as their Commodore had, with national military "prévoyance," freighted a transport to convey provisions and live stock to Hakodadi, from whence the Encounter carried them; and it will scarcely be credited that the only fresh meat eaten in six months by our squadron was owing to the generous courtesy of the French officers in command.

Light airs and a clear sky were a delightful change for a day or two, off the eastern coast of Sagalien. Just as the ships became once more dry, the fogs returned, with steady southerly winds,—similar to the constant breezes we experienced in the Sea of Japan and Gulf of Tartary; so constant, indeed, as to lead to the conclusion that the Chinese monsoons extend nearly up to lat. 50°. Above that zone, easterly and northerly winds are prevalent in summer; in winter the north-west gales blow with great violence from the highest latitude we reached, 54° 30′, down to

the southern extremity of Nipon, as was plainly visible in the direction of the growth of trees, and in the extensive land-slips along the western shores of the islands of Sagalien, Yezzo, and Nipon.

At daylight on the 22nd August, one of those clear and distant views noticed by La Perouse as peculiar to this climate and region, enabled us to get a glimpse of land on all sides of us, and decided our position to be in the straits named after that distinguished discoverer of them, and almost equidistant from the two shores of Aniwa Bay. Nerve, decision, and activity, are required in those who navigate these seas; fortunately, the Commodore was of that age at which these are still the distinguishing traits of a manly character, and during our whole cruise they were as apparent as the cool judgment which, whilst fully recognising dangers, steadily pursued its ends, only so modifying the means of attaining them as to secure them. How different from the imbecile waverings of aged indecision in its effects upon subordinates! leaving no taint of dishonour on ill success, and commanding

affection and admiration under circumstances of lingering inactivity!

The Spartan was left in Aniwa Bay to communicate with La Constantine, and rumours were rife of a still further retreat to the southward, instead of the expected permission to attempt once more the passage into the Amùr by the Gulf of Tartary, which, it was whispered, was very strongly advocated by the French Commodore. It was to convey to that officer these bad tidings that the Spartan was left behind, as was subsequently the rational deduction made by all; for, right or wrong, the actions, and still more the inaction, of their chiefs are freely commented on by seamen as well as soldiers.

A fine bright morning, and light fleecy English-like clouds, floating slowly over the clear blue sky, gave beauty to the last view of Sagalien, as we passed close to its undulating banks and wooded hills on the 23rd, and raised a desire to occupy one of the numerous little huts prettily placed near the rivers and surrounded by virgin soil and unviolated forests, —a desire often excited on viewing similar scenery in the western hemisphere after a short

absence from towns and civilisation, but now evoked by the cheering home-like scenery presented to us, after so many days of dreary navigation, and only yielding to the assuring sentiment that at last I was *en route* homewards, and was so far happier than the accomplished Russian officers on board; who, ever ready to join in conversation or in amusement, rarely permitted any complaint to escape them, though almost in their own waters. On some topics their flow of conversation was most agreeable, and in none more so than when its current ran through the details of Russian private life, or touched the noble patriotism which the mention of the name of their late Czar immediately raised. Indeed, the enthusiastic admiration felt for Nicholas I. was for the magnificent impersonation of Russia's might and majesty. "L'état c'est moi," with him, was no boast, and still, amongst the younger well-born officers, his name is mentioned with reverential respect.

We were soon again entering the Sea of Japan, passing between the long, low, finely swelling shores of Rifunsiri and the romantic volcanic island of Risiri, the battle-

mented crest of which, formed of huge red rocks, surmounted large woods and green slopes, and gleamed like a Moorish fortress in the Sierra Nevada. The weather became warmer each day as we proceeded southwards, and clear blue skies, soft balmy airs, and the lake-like waves of this inland sea, were as constant as the less agreeable fogs of the Northern Sea had been. The evenings were peculiarly mild though fresh, resembling those of early summer in the Mediterranean, or the first bright nights of the Indian summer in America. The stars shone less large, perhaps, than in the tropics before us, yet were quite as "clearly set" in the heavens; so much so, that after watching the satellites of Jupiter with an opera-glass, fancy or memory-assisted sight, placed them around their primary long after the glass had been withdrawn. In such delightful weather the four days' sail down the western shore was most charming, and as occasionally the extinct volcanos of the interior were visible at increased distances, there was as much to interest the mind as to gratify the eye; the thickly wooded island of Risiri was again

passed, and the pretty picturesque city of Matsmai "rising out of the dark blue sea" once more caused all the glasses to be turned on it, anxiously seeking the hidden details of the peculiarly striking scene.

The swift current bore us rapidly on, and the well-remembered capes of the Strait of Sangur quickly appeared on either bow. We were carried rather too near the bold rocky bluffs of the northern shore, and were for some time becalmed under the lofty chain of hills, just before sunset on the 28th August, and as the numerous fishing boats of a hamlet near us were steering out for their night's labours; light airs kept us from the anchorage, and silently we drifted into the fast-flowing current in the centre of the straits, from which, under the bright rays of a brilliant moon, the fine features of this mountainous coast were seen beautifully softened. In such moments the remarks of Madame de Staël on solitude recur, and the wish that the fair scene should be enjoyed by distant friends is uppermost. Any enjoyments, however, of such scenes "Ist Lohn der reichlich lohnet," as Göthe said of his own art, and tempts those wanting

"the faculty divine" and noble "accomplishment of verse," to waste the midnight hours in voiceless reverie, soothed by the melody of the starlit waters rippling past the ship,—a temptation generally irresistible, when the breeze is steady and fair, the sails all set for the night, the watch fast asleep on the deck, and the deep silence is unbroken, save by the monotonous pacing of the officer of the watch, and the occasional cheering "All's well!" of the "look-outs."

CHAP. VII.

Visit of Harbour Master. — The Comings and Goings of the Ships confuse him. — Changed Appearance of the Port. — Proceed into the Country in Boats. — Villages continuous. — Inhabitants civil. — Fly-fishing. — Astonishment of the Natives. — Matrons and Maids. — Early Marriages. — Visit to Governor. — The Garden of the Temple. — French Sick lodged in a Temple. — Its Priest. — Apparent essential Ceremonies.— Tea-gardens and Books. — Freedom permitted to unmarried Women. — The Governor visits the Frigate. — Retinue and State. — "The Illustrated News" invariably chief Topic of Conversation. — European Ladies' Dresses and Dancing incomprehensible. — Ideas of Architecture. — Luncheon. — Habits of Eating. — Powers of Drinking. — Curiosity and Intelligence of Governor. —Differences of Costume between Chinese and Japanese. — Walk into the Country. — Island of Yezzo. — Late Conquest by Japanese. — Interior inhabited by Ainos. — Description of Ainos. — Wealth of Country.

How changed was the prospect around us, since we last saw it in the beginning of May! Winter was then retreating hesitatingly, leaving the traces of its snowy footsteps on each mountain top, where now rich vegetation blooms; and near us are grassy slopes browned by the summer sun, and above them the woods

wnd green and flourishing, far up the mountain sides. In the harbour itself no less changes are visible: instead of a few small junks malodorous with their freight of fish, we now behold numerous larger junks almost "blotting out" the wharves, whilst the frequent plying of boats between the junks and the shore, proves the greater commercial activity of the port.

The official boat, too, now in its progress towards us, was new and of better construction, and manned by the same singing crew, only now denuded of clothing, save a narrow strip of cotton round the loins. From its little covered cabin chamber emerged our old acquaintance, the astute-looking harbour master, from amidst his prostrated followers, and "landed" on the deck, in all the gayest and lightest summer fashions of Japan,—quaker-coloured crapes of thinnest texture, and finest silks of perfectly toned colours composing the dress; each robe was semi-transparent, and rendered presentable by there being double suits. Fans, too, came now into use, and kept in as frequent agitation as the same pretty vehicles of flirtation are by the most exquisite "Majas" of Andalusia.

A well filled book had replaced the scraps of paper used as the record of the shipping in port, and numerous were the inquiries of the whereabouts of the several frigates of the allied squadrons. To the uninitiated, the frequent comings and goings of single ships, or of very weak squadrons, seemed unintelligible, but when we heard that four fifty-gun frigates, and one fine forty, had gone lately on a cruise, hopes again were high that, though unsuccessful ourselves, because never in the right place save once, when we were too weak to attack a larger force in a strong position, so fine a squadron of frigates, with one steamer, must have been directed against the only coast defences still armed against us, and near which the enemy's squadron were known to be lying; and the evident apprehensions of such a proceeding in the minds of the Russian officers was transparent through the wit with which they veiled them, and though they laughingly inquired "Why so many large frigates? We have one and a corvette!" Two steam corvettes were in the harbour near us, and we subsequently found that two other steamers had been lying in Nagasaki for many

weeks; unhappily our expectations were doomed to be again disappointed, for this fine squadron of frigates went to the *southern* shores of Tartary instead of to the north, and consumed months in rough surveys and rougher geologising, which might have been better spent in trying to acquire some knowledge of the enemy's stronghold in the Amùr. June and July were frittered away, and now August and September, the remains of the summer, were to be passed in performing that which could have been done years ago as easily as under present circumstances.

To return to our visitor, the harbour-master, who diplomatically endeavoured to elicit the fruits of our campaign; and though he failed himself, his adjutants, scampering in their lame fashion about the vessels, probably acquired all the information needed by the Japanese government. He made the old difficulties about furnishing supplies of fresh meat, and the old promises of sending fish and fruits and vegetables, regretting that the number of vessels which had visited Hakodadi had greatly diminished the amount of their supplies. He was commissioned to

take the Commodore's compliments to the governor, and the expression of his desire to pay his respects to him in person; and departed after the usual smoking of the tiny pipes, the customary cups of tea with the much relished sugar, and the glass of sherry or sweet wine, which usually completed the measure of the visitor's anticipated joys.

Amongst other improvements we recognised a water tank coming alongside, to the great contentment of the zealous first lieutenant, to whom the frequent delays and lingering laziness of the Japanese in furnishing supplies must have caused many annoyances.

The weather was very hot, though the thermometer did not range higher than 80°, but the sun's rays were so powerful that our walks on shore were limited to afternoon strolls. We found that the frequent arrival of new ships had effected changes even in the official reception of Europeans, for the country people had always been civil and good-tempered. At our former visit, as the first English ships seen, we had felt a few restrictions press rather severely on us, and although we were

indebted to the earlier and longer residence of the Americans for the good-humoured evading of regulations to which the Japanese had become accustomed, still something was done to prove to the governor that further freedom of intercourse would not be fraught with danger to the Japanese, and during our absence, the amiability and pleasing manners of the veteran admiral had evidently won upon the authorities, who are apparently as refined courtiers as astute diplomats.

Our first notions of the content, comparative ease and comfort of the peasantry were confirmed by the experience gained in several walks into the country round the Bay. The round, rosy, laughing faces of the white-teethed girls were never withdrawn from the window as we passed, nor would they move their buxom persons far aside as we passed them in the narrow paths or wide roads: and the mothers, often of a Sarah-like age, would not refrain from the performance of their maternal duties on seeing us approach, but, followed by their young brood, would smile in ghastly guise, showing their teeth and gums, so blackened as to have the appearance of tooth-

lessness. Boys in a state of nudity, and men robed only in long dressing-gowns, thronged the doors of the villages, saluting us with jokes, which from the expression of their honest and merry faces could not be uncivil.

We ascended a small river flowing into the western and furthest side of the Bay for three or four miles: its banks were for some distance covered with cottages set in gardens, and the population came out in numbers to see the men-of-war's boats pulling up the stream. Some would demand "Englishee?" others "Amerikee?" The answer was re-echoed with delight, and some laughter at the strangeness of our tongue and of our dress: the astonishment was heightened as they saw the Commodore, rod in hand, throwing an occasional cast into the good-looking pools and runs of the river, and exceeded all bounds when, excited by the ardour of the sport, he quietly waded across or down the river, an exertion on the part of a "high officer," as they term superior officers, quite astounding, and unhappily, as the skill of the accomplished fisherman could not tempt any good-sized fish to "rise," I fear that

the Japanese fisherman we saw quietly bobbing for small fish will not recommend the more artistic gear of the Tweed to his fellow-countrymen. The paucity of trout caught during the whole cruise is hardly accountable: the coasts swarm with salmon, yet the most "likely" trout streams never gave a respectable dish of trout, and most were well "thrashed" without a trout being seen, and many of the fishers were keen veterans of the art.

The greediness to acquire English had augmented during our absence, and it was a common practice with men and boys, more particularly the latter, to arrest the passer-by, and pointing to some object pronounce "Nipon-Sima," that is, Japanese-island, "Englishee?" which when given was repeated with joy, as if a treasure had been picked up: several boys had acquired many phrases, and were very proud of their proficiency in speaking English. In our strolls along the river, we saw willows, dwarf oaks, the wild vine, wild pinks, roses, raspberries, and amongst other vegetable crops recognised potatoes, beans and peas, and gigantic radishes, and we disturbed many duck, teal, bittern and snipe.

On the second day of our being at anchor, the governor intimated that he would be happy to receive the Commodore's visit on the following day, when accordingly the captains of the ships and other officers proceeded to the temple, in which His Excellency still lived, and were received without as much state as on the first occasion. On entering the old audience-room, to which we were conducted, we saw the benevolent and intelligent face of our old friend the deputy-governor, who greeted us very warmly. We recognised also several other "high officers:" and we were seating ourselves on the bench, with red cloth facing our hosts, when the governor entered, looking fresher and stronger than formerly, and after having bowed in succession to each visitor, he begged us to be seated. The usual compliments passed between the host and the guests, and tobacco and pipes, tea, fruits and sweetmeats were introduced in the regular order; saki, or fermented rice, was handed round; a sweeter fermentation of rice followed; and lastly a brandy from corn, I believe, was given to us, resembling in colour, strength, and taste, spirits of wine. The governor drank heartily

of the two latter beverages, and one or two of his guests carried their complaisance so far as to imitate him. When the intercourse was drawing to some length, without any intelligence being obtainable on either side, a move was made into the garden of the temple, the governor excusing himself, on account of health, from accompanying us: it was a little space, in which dwarfed trees, a few flowers, and a very delicate species of cedar grew, and one of the innumerable garden-plots *à la Japonnaise* in the midst of a city which give a peculiarly pleasing expression to all views of Japanese towns: a short stay exhausted the beauties of the temple garden, and we passed again into the audience room to bid His Excellency the O'Bunyu (governor) good-bye.

We subsequently visited another temple, in one of the outbuildings of which the scurvy infected portion of the crew of La Sibylle were quartered with an *enseigne de vaisseau* and an assistant surgeon. A portion of the one-storied building had been boarded off and divided into two compartments, one of about twenty by twenty-five feet for the sailors, and the other for the two officers, of

much smaller size. At first there was an inclination on the part of the authorities to shut them in so completely that they could see nothing nor be seen themselves: a remonstrance defeated the contemplated isolation, and they were then guarded by troops posted at the gates of the temple: they were watched by spies *à la Japonnaise*, day and night, and were not as well treated as Europeans when ill expect; and there was difficulty in procuring fowls for them, though vegetables were supplied in tolerable sufficiency. The intelligent medical officer had wisely made a friend of the chief priest of the city, who lodged in this temple, and by this channel contrived to obtain many small comforts for his men, as well as much valuable information concerning the state of medical and religious knowledge, which I hope will be communicated by him.

As far as I understood him, both religious and medical rites were simple: listening to the continuous beat of a small drum is the chief. Should the complaint be in the head, a female drummer places the instrument as near the burning brain as possible, and drums away,—every now and then contributing a long

and monotonous song: the effects supposed to be caused are either the awakening of the slumbering deity, or driving away the offended demon. I need hardly add, that recoveries from violent disorders are rare, unless youth and a strong constitution enable the invalid to defy the tortures of the drum.

The priests and doctors have much in common in their dress; both have their heads shaven close all round—both orders were well fed, and the doctors richly dressed—wealth being the priests' counterpoise for the negligence of apparel. The doctors are attached to the households of the great dignitaries, and wear the crests of the magnates on their crape and silk robes, and those I saw were clever-looking and inquisitive; their religious brethren, on the contrary, were rather stolid in expression, and very fat. In one temple we saw a robust priest in the usual Japanese sitting posture,—which by the way is so uncomfortable that frequently changes of position are necessary, and none but strong men can remain long in it without great inconvenience. The knees are well bent, and the sitter reposes on the soles of his feet, and hides them

completely by the folds of his petticoat trowsers, or by the long robes in the cases of priests and peasants. It is a great breach of politeness to expose the feet whilst sitting,—a few years' compliance with which fashion enlarges the knee joints to deformity, and impedes the walking powers. This priest was so seated in a corner, and a small mosquito-net cage enclosed him, whilst a manuscript of Bhuddistic lore reposed on his knees: self-complacent in the silence of the deserted temple, he looked the impersonation of indolent friarhood! As soon as we crossed the threshold, he rose, and with great good-nature proceeded to show us some miniature idols near him, of no great value, artistic or material, but which were evidently held in great respect; dishes of fish and rice, which are daily brought to the temples by the laity, lay beside him, and a small charcoal fire, tea-cups and tea-pots of course were within his reach.

The people at this season lived more in the open air than at the chillier period of our former visit, and some religious fêtes were coming to a conclusion; so that both

causes may have combined to render them more gay, and I am sorry to add more addicted to intoxication, which was not confined to the male sex: the tea gardens are, I suspect, the resort of the young and gay of both sexes, and from all I heard are quite as important a feature in the domestic manners of the Japanese as the Dutch writers represent them to be. I never saw a black-toothed woman returning from them, which may be an accidental circumstance, although I dare say that well-known and difficultly-hid emblem of matronhood is sufficient to deter the most eager votary of pleasure: this defigurement is a sad thing for the wives and widows of Japan,—perhaps worse than the blackened matrimonial visages of Lhassa which the enterprising Père Huc describes, for the latter could be made fair occasionally, and widowhood would naturally resume its maiden complexion.

Another extraordinary summer amusement is the promiscuous public bathing of both sexes of all ages: they enter a small room, barely fifteen feet square, and only partially screened from the remainder of the rooms,—with un-

curtained windows opening on the streets,—and close to the other inmates of the house,—pursuing their mechanical avocations,—and in perfect nudeness, perform all the operations of the bath, — wrinkled age and budding girlhood alike unabashed, surrounded and pressed on by senility, early manhood, and frolicsome childhood.

Self-possession, quietness, and order reigned as paramount as in the salons of the most civilised people: curiosity fled quickly before the sensations such a scene naturally creates, though it led me to stand outside and watch the persons issuing and entering the small bathing-house; and, without being able to pique myself on one and the least of the *fortes* of the Great Condé, that of detecting the condition of each passer-by, I saw enough to convince me that the bathers were not confined to the lowest or dissolute classes.

The police effectually prevent all intercourse between Europeans and the fair Japanese, the loss of the head being the punishment fulminated against any one found conversing with an European, and all the gallantry of our allies quartered in the temple

was unavailing, I heard, to achieve a conquest; though perhaps, ere this, a *roman* from the prolific pen of some great French novelist may be issuing in some *feuilleton* at Paris to contradict the assertion, and be still more wondrous than the romantic amours of Dr. Yvan in Malaya, or the adventures described in "Vingts Années aux Phillipines."

The governor had promised to pay the Commodore a visit on the 6th, and accordingly at noon of that day a procession of boats was seen leaving the harbour-master's steps, and before they could be distinctly made out, the rude chorus of the boatmen was audible across the water: the long native boats were soon discovered to be towing a large gondola-like boat, in the bow of which were several spears and battle-axes indicative of the high rank of the official in it. Two other long boats towed a second large gondola with fewer spears in its bow, and half a dozen others, half towed and half towing, the former full of musqueteers and halberdiers, closed the rear. There was a slight swell; and as the labour and heat of the oarsmen increased, louder grew the discor-

dant and commingling songs of the crews. When the boats drew near, the aspects, bearing, and arms of the troops called our attention. They were stout, strong, middle-sized men with bronzed faces, and were clothed like the other Japanese, except that close-fitting cotton leggings replaced the petticoats of the officials; that over their robes they wore cotton spensers adorned with hideous devices *à la Chinoise*, and had finely japanned conical hats with broad brims and with round tops of a deep red tint: their arms consisted of halberts or old-fashioned musquetoons, and would be inefficient against European troops; but yet, on the whole, their appearance did not misbecome the descendants of the men who for a long period in earlier times had signalised themselves as soldiers of fortune in China and Corea.

A part, indeed possibly no small part, of the difficulties attending the entrance of Europeans into Kiusu, of which Nagasaki is a small sea-port town, arises from the fact that Westerns are at first taken by the country people to be Coreans, from their wearing hats somewhat similar to the dark turbans of the

neighbouring Coreans, who were for long periods of early Japanese history subjects or revolted dependants, and for whom the Japanese entertain a rooted dislike mingled with contempt.

But *à nos moutons*. The governor stepped from his comfortable, well-papered and furnished cabin, as soon as his boat was at the ship's side, and,— his crew on their knees,— mounted with apparent ease to the deck, where he was received by the Commodore and the officers of the frigate, dressed in their epauletted uniforms, the marines presenting arms, and the band playing our national air: self-possessed and quiet he received the salute, as if accustomed to it, and then courteously paid some compliments to the Commodore and officers—through the interpreters *por supuesto* —and was ushered below. When he and his suite,—consisting of the three highest officers of the city, with four secretaries, a doctor, two interpreters, and two sword-bearers, to relieve each other in the constant upholding of the governor's long sword behind his back, —were, except the two latter persons, seated, which from their number and the limited

space the cabin offered, was no easy matter, the Commodore expressed "how happy he was to see His Excellency the O'Bunyu on board Her Majesty's ship:" to which the governor replied, that "he was very glad to have the opportunity of paying a visit in person, which his state of health had prevented on the former arrival of the Sibylle." A few questions were put, after the long series of complimentary inquiries had been answered on both sides, which were replied to as prudence dictated by both "high officers." The cause of the length of the cruise and the names of places visited by the squadron were politely and adroitly demanded on the guest's part; whilst the host was naturally eager to hear any intelligence concerning the enemy's movements. When this diplomatic fencing had lasted some time, the ever useful "Illustrated News" lying on the table caught the eye of the gallant deputy governor, and in a few minutes the dikes of ceremony and dignified reserve were overflowed by the warm interest which the graphic details of Inkerman and Balaclava inspired: each of the grand officials lost the low murmuring tones in which the

audiences were carried on, and demanded in sudden and louder notes the country of overthrown horsemen or sabred gunners: tents, advancing squadrons, columns of infantry were less easily comprehended. The likeness of our gracious Queen and those of other reigning sovereigns were particularly and long admired: a spirited sketch of a Mansion House ball elicited endless inquiries; the dresses of the ladies astonished them; and the mystery of dancing was never fathomed; a view of the Covent Garden orchestra was, despite of many luminous flashes of pantomimic wit, understood to represent a battle; but that which most struck them, indeed the only beauty in architecture discoverable by them, was the height of buildings; they counted the number of stories with ill-concealed scepticism. Happily I could not find a view of "Auld Reekie," or I should have been tempted to mutter "London," the only spot of English ground they honour; for the usual query is "whether the officer lives in London," and if a negative is returned, good-breeding ineffectually endeavours to conceal the conviction that the responder is no "high officer."

When the interview had lasted about half an hour, the guests were taken in to luncheon, and they sat down without much awkwardness, the governor keeping his interpreter close to him, and the sword-bearer with sheathed and reversed sword behind him;—of each dish handed round to us a small portion was taken on their plates and tasted; but our *cuisine* was not much to their *goût*. French rolls, pastry, fruit, tartlets, and dessert were most relished by the great man, who with good breeding ate with an apparent relish unattempted or unachieved by the generality of his suite. Beer, claret, sherry and sweet wines were alternately drank by the governor, who invited the captains to take with him quite *à l'Anglaise*, and after having drank many glasses of every liquid offered him, some Old Tom of great age was produced, and several glasses taken by him with great *gusto*: the other faces round the table became very red, for, like the Chinese, the Japanese blood becomes soon inflamed by spirituous liquors, and quickly unfolds in the countenance the ruddy ensign of Bacchus. The governor alone, to the last, displayed a calm, pale face,

though his potations had been longest and deepest, and was, with the chief interpreter, an exception to the general inexpertness in the use of knives and forks.

After dinner the O'Bunyu was informed of our custom of drinking the health of our gracious sovereign, and on the toast being given, rose, imitated by his suite, deeming that the most respectful attitude to drink it in. The Commodore then "respectfully proposed the health of the Emperor of Japan;" upon which all again rose and drank the toast. The band, which had hitherto been playing *morceaux*, marches, and the national air, now commenced a series of pieces of dancing-music, and the heads of the "high officers" began to wag in time,—the first indication they had given that the music reached their ears. The manners of our guests at table were not unpleasing, excepting in the particular instance of taking a roll of thin paper from the interior of the bosom of the robe, and deliberately separating a leaf, using it as a pocket-handkerchief, rolling it up, and then throwing it into a corner. Indian and Chinese silk handkerchiefs will, I trust, be soon introduced,

as the custom is one of which they already see the ill-breeding.

His Excellency, to my astonishment, immediately after luncheon reminded the Commodore of the promise to show the ship, and proposed inspecting it at once. Immediately on entering the main-deck, he stopped at the first gun, and with great shrewdness asked several questions about the foundry of guns, the use of the gear about it, and, thoroughly understanding the loading, desired to see the tubes, and to be permitted to fire one; which he did after stooping down and looking at the pointing: he then asked for one of the carbines which he saw in their places above his head, capped it, pointed it out of the port, and fired it. He made most pertinent inquiries concerning every object that struck him as he went round the ship, occasionally taking a roll of paper from the all capacious breast of the robe, and roughly sketching anything the manufacture of which he wished to have elucidated: there was a calm dignity and good breeding in his method of eliciting information which was really admirable, and led us to attach weight to the interpreter's

report, that he was of the Siogoon family, and sent to Hakodadi on the part of that dignitary, who "governs" but does not "reign:" for nominally at least the "Son of Light" reigns and the Siogoon governs, though even this power is held loosely by the present vicegerent, who is thought to be inimical to foreigners.

When the inspection of the frigate had come to an end, the governor returned to the cabin, and became interested in several things exhibited to him. An aneroid and an atlas seemed to please him, and were presented to him with a short explanation of the utility of the instrument, which I dare say has long ere this been so often examined by Japanese philosophers *à la violeta* as to be useless. Cigars were not relished, though tasted out of complaisance, and generally taken away by the inferior officials to show to their countrymen; but whenever opportunity offered, a rustling of silks and satins was heard, and the invariable girdle ornament of leather tobacco case and bag produced, and a small pipe-full smoked. As much of the reserve had by this time worn off with the satellites, the chief judge undertook to "show me a trick," and with many eyes upon him

emitted smoke alternately from his nostrils and mouth. I endeavoured to imitate the humorous judge, but being no smoker, and one of those to whom the remark of a witty French commodore applies, who having weighty vices cannot bear the addition of light ones, I failed, to the intense delight and hearty laughter of our elated guests, of whom the doctor was the merriest. Whether he was less used to spirituous liquors than the rest, or that not being treated with respect by his superiors a certain amount of buffoonery was superinduced on the medical character, I could not ascertain: his closely shaven head gleamed over a countenance in which shrewdness, and perhaps the cunning of oppressed talent, were strangely mingled with good humour, and his face peered everywhere in quest of the novelties of the strangers.

About five o'clock "the governor begged to take leave," and was received on the quarter-deck at his departure with the same honours as on his arrival, and when on the point of going over the side, he requested that "the Commodore would give his thanks to the officers who had taken the trouble of attending on the quarter-deck." The procession of boats was

again formed, with all the accustomed vociferations and songs, which slowly died on the ear as the authorities gained the shore.

The Japanese silks and crapes, and the colours of both fabrics, are inferior to those of the Chinese: compared with the Celestials, it struck me that their robes are more classical and less angular; their straw plaited shoe less useful than the very thick solid "article" which protects the Chinese foot from damp; their small coloured cloth or cotton socks less cleanly than the long white stockings of their western cognates; and their petticoat trowsers more cumbersome to walk in than the loose oriental garment gathered at the knee worn by the Chinese. The simplicity of their dress, its freedom from jewelry and embroidery, and the distinction of the high officials consisting very slightly in difference of costume, but only in superior cleanliness of the person and of their garments, were pleasing evidences of refinement, and an agreeable contrast to the gaudiness and grotesqueness of the peacock feathers, coloured buttons, and highly ornamented silks, so dear to the hearts of Chinese Mandarins.

There was also a manliness of port and a good-natured openness of countenance amongst the fishermen and peasantry pleasant to contemplate.

The island before us, Yezzo, was a later acquisition of the Japanese, and belonged to the Ainos, who still inhabit the mountains in the interior: they are an unwarlike, inoffensive race, called stupid by their conquerors, strong, hardy, and short, like their brethren in Sagalien, and very dissimilar in colour and features to the Japanese or Manchus: some geographers term them the Hairy Race, and they are well entitled to the appellation; their black flowing locks, descending below their shoulders, and their beards, moustaches and whiskers would raise the envy of a sappeur de la Garde Impériale. The coasts, valleys, and lower hills are occupied by the conquering race, who are by degrees finding out the mineral wealth of the interior, which is nearly equal, I should imagine, to that of the larger and main island Nipon, (or Sun-born, whence by corruption came Japon and Japan): this aggregation of the main part of the population on the coasts, banks of rivers and streams, is,

I understand, common to the whole Japanese group, as, from the knowledge that fish is the principal food of the people, might be inferred.

The days were very sultry, and the sun's rays most powerful, which, with a thermometer rarely rising to 80° of Fahrenheit in the shade, or to 100° in the sun, was inexpressibly oppressive to most, even of those who had been some years in the tropics. We were surrounded by lofty extinct volcanoes; yet they were green and fertile nearly to their summits, and their upper slopes covered with fine timber. The evenings, however, repaid us for the sultriness of the days, and were quite cool enough for rapid walks amongst the neighbouring hamlets, or along the shores; and the row to the ship,— twilight's short glimmering past,— across the calmed surface of the Bay, which reflected the "unutterably bright" stars of the "ebon vault" above, with the day-breeze hushed, and no sounds audible from the distant picturesquely lighted town, was an enjoyment which nightly silenced the gossip commenced on leaving the beach, and left the "sitters" to undisturbed reveries.

CHAP. VIII.

Leave Hakodadi. — "Beating" out.—Outsail Consort.—Gale of Wind in the Pacific.—Shores of Nipon.—Islands off the Bay of Yeddo. — Active Volcano. — Appearance of Land near Simoda. — Reach Simoda. — Badly chosen Port. — Difficult of Access. — Small. — Loss of Russian Frigate "Diana." — Details of Russian Movements. — Russians escape. — Build a Vessel. — Distress of the Shipwrecked Officers. — Their Accounts of Japan. — American Treaty.— Fruitless Russian Treaty. — Sail to the South. —The magnificent Spectacle presented by Fitsrijama Mountain. — Japanese Group happily situated. — Evidences of its Wealth and Fertility. — Van Dieman's Strait. — Its Current. — Clusters of Volcanic Islands. — Active Volcano. — Island of Kiusu. — Its Government. — Importance. — Distant View of South-western Shores of Japan. — Island of Amakusu. — Christians. — Conduct of Dutch. — Nagasaki to Windward.

At dawn on the 8th September, the ever-stirring and hope-exciting sound, "hands up anchor," awoke me, and I went on deck to catch a last view of the fine harbour; a strong breeze from the S. E. was blowing, the barometer was fast falling, and clouds were wildly driven along the sky, and the sight of our consort, H. M. S. Spartan, getting under weigh

was one of those things which touch the heart of an Englishman, instantaneously revealing to him where the national strength lies, as he views the effects of order, discipline, and mastery of the profession displayed as the frigate, all sail set, commenced to "beat out" of the Straits. To "beat" was the forte of both frigates, (fine specimens of their peculiar construction,) and a trial of that forte was before them, as the breeze freshened into a gale, driving the huge waves of the Pacific Ocean against the swiftly flowing current of the Straits: gallantly with treble-reefed sails and short tacks in that boiling, surging, and unsurveyed sea, they advanced ten knots an hour through the water, and long ere night the Straits were out of sight, hid in the haze and clouds of the storm;—but our smaller consort was out-sailed by her nobler proportioned sister, and was almost hull down behind us.

For the first time in a five months' cruise, the fell chill of sea-sickness quite paralysed me' and all the good things of my hospitable host passed before my eyes like the ghastly half consciousness of night-mare festivals, and as if such condiments could never again raise an appetite.

That I was not the sole sufferer, and that I did not pity the fate of my fellows in misery, I viewed as a salve to a vanity akin to that which tempts the nodding to deny that they are sleepy, and as a confession bringing to mind one of the truest of the chilling maxims of the cold-hearted Rochefoucault,—cold and ignoble, indeed, if Victor Cousin's "Mémoires de Madame de Longueville" do not belie him.

The gale lessened the following morning, when only the top-masts of the Spartan were visible, and slowly died away at night, when that frigate had long been lost sight of, and the swell of the Pacific alone remained to remind us of the gale we had experienced. The morning of the 10th broke fine and clear, and exhibited at ten miles distance the sandy shores of Nipon, along which we continued to run for three days before a strong northerly breeze,—green hills and volcanic formations ever in view, but no other sail or sign of living thing, except the large gulls which gracefully dipped down upon their prey or rose before the wind with extended unwinnowing wings.

On the 19th we passed Cape King, and

stood towards the island of Oosima, which, and the adjacent group of islets, extends from the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Yeddo, southerly, and have the appearance of having in bygone ages formed, as a peninsula, part of the continent, and by a great convulsion of nature to have had sea passages rent through it. Oosima is from 1,200 to 1,500 feet high, and was visible through the clear atmosphere for some hours before we were near enough to discern smoke slowly issuing in creamy vapours from a point below the summit, light gray vapours which resembled summer clouds, except that the edges had a peculiar up-rolling reminiscive of the rise of incense in Roman Catholic cathedrals, and that they did not momentarily rest on the crests of the hill, but descended in continuous motion the several ravines; occasionally the hill-tops and slopes were quite clear; in a few minutes, however, the vapours would stream up denser and with greater rapidity. I could not detect any sign of fire, or any material ejections, even with the aid of a very good glass.

To the southward, the bold outlines of a portion of the group rose against the clear

sky; to the north, the lofty mountains east and west of the plain in which Yeddo stands were seen as large hills at the distance of sixty or seventy miles; to the west, was the peninsula of Idzu,—ridges of hills looking like huge green tents set on a gigantic slope, with numerous conical mountains beyond, the whole scene bearing strongly the impress of volcanic formation, as if hundreds of very different sized openings in the crust of the earth had been made in a moment, and the subsidences of the ejections consolidated contemporaneously, and the country subsequently been clothed with forests, but presenting at the period of our visit most striking highland views around the loch-like bay or bight of Simoda.

This is very small, narrow, and difficult of access, with reefs at no great distance from its mouth, and has more the appearance of a haunt for pirates, than a commercial port opened to the trade of the western world. Its proximity to Yeddo may have originally led the Americans to accept it as one of the harbours rendered accessible by their treaty and as a stepping-stone to cross over to the Gulf of Yeddo.

It was in this little romantic bay that the disastrous adventures of the Russian frigate Diana commenced. She had left Cronstadt after the declaration of war with Turkey, and whilst diplomatic battles were waging between the Western Powers and Russia had escaped the pursuit of the English frigates sent on her track; had reached her rendezvous at De Castries Bay in safety; had taken the guns and men from the half-wrecked Pallas of sixty guns, which she required; had visited Aniwa and Hakodadi, and with the Russian Plenipotentiary, Admiral Puniatin, on board, was at length in Simoda to complete the treaty, and had received the beautiful presents from the Siogoon to the Czar, and had nearly brought the secret articles to a satisfactory term, when the earthquake occurred in this pretty spot. Driven from side to side by the quickly succeeding waves of the influences alternating with the effluence of the waters from the Bay, and which each time brought her rudder and false keel on the dry rock, instant destruction seemed inevitable; but as the vessel continued to swing clear of the bold islet which still further narrows the small harbour, confidence

was restored, and it would appear from the data said to be procured during these moments of intensest interest, that coolness and discipline were preserved during this trying ordeal. Without a rudder, with an injured keel, and making water, she survived "the elemental strife." A rude rudder being shipped, she was taken to sea to round Cape Idzu, and be beached in one of the sheltered bays of the westward gulf. Before she reached the place proposed, the roughly fitted rudder was carried away, when in eighty or ninety fathoms; an application was then made to the Japanese, who sent hundreds of boats to tow her into the bay selected: whilst so employed, clouds gathering round a mountain summit augured bad weather, and, as the breeze freshened, the Japanese quickly cut themselves adrift, and left the frigate to her fate. The men had been removed previously to her being taken in tow, as the water had gained the lower deck; and in a few hours she sank in sixty or seventy fathom water. The Diana and the Pallas had been favourite frigates with the Grand Duke Constantine, and the latter was the vessel in which the Grand

Duke had gained his professional experience, in the several grades he has so quickly passed through.

The Japanese authorities were at first very kind to the shipwrecked officers and men; gradually, however, their manner changed, and instead of loading the former with presents as had been the case whilst the frigate floated, they now demanded high prices, or the exchange of the nautical instruments of the officers for the simplest articles of Japanese industry. So exorbitant were they that in a short time the Russians had nothing left. Food and huts were provided, and a camp formed around the habitations of their guests: the restrictions became at length so galling that Admiral Puniatin was obliged to threaten the provincial authorities with an attack. However, it was soon obvious to the Japanese officials that the sooner their shipwrecked guests were sent to one of their own ports the better.

The U. S. S. Powhattan, bearing the ratification of the American treaty, found the Russians already housed, and from all accounts of our enemies behaved to them with generosity

and courtesy. The return to China of the Powhattan gave the notification of the shipwreck to the English and French consuls at Shanghai early in March, and it was directly made known to the British commander-in-chief. About three months subsequent to the shipwreck, it was rumoured that the Powhattan carried Russian despatches and a copy of their Japanese treaty to Shanghai, and that these were forwarded by an eminent American firm by the first overland mail. This may be unfounded, and a "pendant" to the story that the Powhattan met a French whaleship, Le Napoleon, lying in a bay near the Russian frigate, and informed the latter of the opportunity of making their escape from Japan; and it is believed that there was an attempt made to capture her, the Admiral leading the boats in their cruise: the whaleship's master had a hint given him just in time to get to sea before the boats could enter the bay: whether this hint was given by the Japanese, or whether the American captain, in order to balance the information afforded on the other side, and thus preserve a new species of neutrality, sent the notice, seems doubtful.

The behaviour of the authorities subsequently on the arrival of the French commodore showed a determination to resist any attack made on their territory, as they brought down numerous guns to the beach to resist any force sent against the Russians: the only mission sent was that which might have been expected from the chivalrous and accomplished commodore,—an offer to land the shipwrecked Russians at any neutral port, on their giving their paroles not to serve until exchanged—terms not received by the enemy, who were in negotiation with the commander of a splendid American clipper for a passage to Petropaulovski; but the sum demanded by the American astounded the Russian Admiral, and though reduced step by step to a more moderate amount, the vaunts of the clipper's speed did not tempt that officer to embark in her, as he expected that a war-steamer must be sent to watch the port where so large a portion —one third—of the Russian naval forces in the East was "in check."

Another month's residence increased the desire of escaping, and a small American schooner, the "Caroline Foote," was chartered

to convey the whole of them in three trips for a considerable sum, of which a large proportion was to be paid on the embarkation of the first party. Accordingly the captain and four or five officers and about 150 men sailed in the schooner early in April for Kamtschatka; on arriving there they found it had been deserted by their countrymen, and sailed for De Castries Bay in the Gulf of Tartary; but on the return of the schooner to Simoda a second venture was probably thought too hazardous by her master, and no more Russians were conveyed in her.

In the meanwhile, Admiral Puniatin had commenced the building of a small schooner yacht with his own carpenters assisted by Japanese mechanics, and with great trouble and difficulty completed her; trouble which may be estimated by any one who has employed foreign workmen to do anything quite opposed to their own ideas, and by the statement of a single material difficulty—it was desired that the schooner should be copper fastened, and the copper was brought down in thick massive pieces which it was necessary to hammer out into plates by manual labour!

When finished, the Japanese were so delighted with her appearance, that they insisted on three others of similar lines and tonnage, — about seventy tons, I believe, — being commenced under Russian superintendence, and they would not allow any alterations in form, though several improvements naturally presented themselves after the first vessel had been tried under sail. The admiral, a friend, a few officers, and a picked crew of about twenty-five men, started on the "run of the gauntlet" in May, and it was ascertained by us at Aian, that he had left the mouth of the Amùr in June, in his ascent of that river, en route to Irkutsk and St. Petersburg: the Japanese charged sixteen thousand dollars for the schooner, unless it was returned, when nothing was expected to be paid. The whole cost to the Russian government, with the subsistence of their officers and men, was, we were given to understand, nearly eighty thousand dollars.

On Admiral Puniatin's departure, the two lieutenants, seven officers, and 280 men, afterwards taken by H. M. S. Barraccouta, remained, and were subjected to great incon-

venience, especially the officers; tea, rice, and fish, with a rare feast of reindeer, being their food: meat, coffee, wine, and every other material soother of life's ills, were untasted for months, and the roughest costumes from St. Francisco were the only articles of dress obtainable from the American ships.

Early in July, a small Bremen brig, which had been lying in Hakodadi harbour with some of the English squadron, and had picked up intelligence of its probable movements, anchored in Simoda, and an arrangement was quickly made with the master to carry the rest of the lost Diana's crew to Aaian or the northern entrance of the Amùr, and they almost touched their own territories, when a temporary clearing up of the fog delivered them into the Barraccouta's power. That this steamer was in the sea of Okholtsk was owing to her accidental rencontre with the Sibylle on the 17th July, and her course being consequently changed from south to north, otherwise she would have been lying in Hakodadi harbour with the larger part of the allied squadron on the 29th July, the date of the capture of the Bremen brig Greta.

The Russian officers saw much of the domestic life of the lower orders of the Japanese, and were always treated with great hospitality by these classes; and if their evening walks were so prolonged as to make a bed in a distant village desirable, it was always offered, with some evening food, and a breakfast was served in the morning before they started home, and of these classes their reports were favourable. Of all the castes of officials, on the other hand, they spoke unfavourably.

The system of mutual distrust and spying, of tyrannical oppression of the people and servile adulation of superiors, and a religious code superstitious or licentious, fortunately have not all the debasing effects predicable of them: happily, a soil fruitful in all that their simple mode of life requires, bays, and rivers teeming with fish, and a temperate climate, in which corn, rice, fruits, and vegetables ripen without very hard labour, renders the existence of the lower orders tolerable if not pleasant.

What differences the intercourse with the western nations will cause, it would be boldness to attempt to foretell: there may be much truth in the vaticinations of the Anti-Eu-

ropean statesmen who surround the present imperial wielder of the power of the Siogoonship, who fear that the strict system of police and espionage will break down on the admission of foreign residents, and that no public force will be left to the government. The heir to the Siogoon is supposed to be favourable to the western powers, and to wish for the speedy introduction of European arts and civilisation. To the latter party, the governor of Hakodadi and several of the most powerful of the feudal princes are presumed to belong, whilst the governors of Nagasaki have hitherto acted as if they adhered to the old national principle of seclusion.

Great difficulties have been made in the carrying out of some of the provisions in the American treaty, which are construed differently by the Japanese and United States officers: the former endeavour to frame articles in such a manner as "to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope," the phrases following each other, so that each restricts its predecessor until the residue becomes to them "beautifully less."

Mixing with the people has as yet done

more than treaties or conventions, and the presence of a few United States ships of war in their ports and harbours would do more to open the country, than a war of words, in the use of which the Japanese method of education makes their officers most expert.

Several citizens of the great Republic have fruitlessly endeavoured to sell American products, or to obtain permission to land and fit up stores; and I should not be surprised to hear that resentment has sprung up in the United States, in consequence of so few of the advantages anticipated from the treaty with Japan having been realised.

From what has already transpired, the treaty entered into by Russia would appear to be the most useful yet made, as it is believed to give that power the liberty of sending consuls to the ports, who are to be allowed to have chapels for the worship of the Deity, according to the Greek ritual, and the Japanese are to provide houses for the recreation of the Russian sailors, whilst officers and merchants are to be permitted to have free intercourse with the people; secret articles are attached to the treaty, and supposed to settle the dis-

puted boundaries in the island of Sagalien, and to promise protection to Japan against the attacks of any other western nation.

For a long time the Russian negotiator was trifled with; detained at Nagasaki, where,—contrary to the experience gained from our failures at Canton, a city, which in China bears the same relation to European commerce which Nagasaki hold in Japan,—Admiral Puniatin commenced his operations; that course was not agreeable to the old sailor, but it is told of him, that happening to meet Von Siebold in St. Petersburg, immediately prior to his departure for the East, he had requested the advice of this famous voyager in Japan, and was warned in reply to be most cautious, conciliatory, and yielding, and that eventually everything required would be gained. Some weeks' residence at Nagasaki, where galling restrictions were imposed upon the movements of his officers and men, sufficed to open the admiral's eyes, and on leaving the harbour without any satisfactory preliminaries being arranged, he is reported to have exclaimed, "I will try my own way next time nearer Yeddo." In the summer of 1854, he visited a

few of the larger south-east ports, and at last brought the negotiations to an end close to the gulf of Yeddo, by adopting the totally different system, of never relinquishing or modifying a proposition or request once formally discussed during many weeks of this period, British cruisers were lying at anchor in the bay of Nagasaki!

The presence during the past summer of so many large English frigates and steamships, and the retreat of the Russian squadron into the Amùr, will probably reduce the ascendancy which the proximity of Russian territories and arms, and the astuteness of her diplomacy, had obtained.

We did not drop the anchor in the harbour of Simoda; we only "lay to" for an hour off the bay without communicating with the shore, on which two Europeans were seen hastily approaching the point nearest the frigate. It was conjectured, and it subsequently appeared correctly, that they belonged to the Greta, of the capture of which they were probably ignorant.

The still fresh breeze from the N.E. was too useful to our progress southwards to be lost,

and to our regret we saw the pretty scenery fade away by degrees, as we sailed before the wind. Just as the lofty mountains behind Simoda were sinking into long low shores, a conical point was seen beyond them, and as we scudded to the south, rose higher and higher above them, until a most perfect gigantic cone of a bluish grey was defined clearly on the bright blue sky, overtopping the lofty mountains of Simoda, now dwarfed by our distance from them. The chart informed us, that we saw Fitsujama, the most magnificent of the numerous grand extinct volcanoes of Nipon. It rises on the isthmus at the head of the peninsula of Idzu, from the water's edge of the two gulfs on either side, boldly symmetrical, to an elevation of nearly 14,000 feet, and we were looking at it from a position seventy miles from it. It was the noblest spectacle I have ever seen, and for hours the eye rested on its sublime aspect with delight, until it alone rose above the horizon, and was at length obscured by the evening mists gathering on the sea. This scene excited an ardent desire to visit at leisure the coasts of Nipon and its sister isles, all of which probably present most romantic and grand views.

The north-east winds carried us down till within forty or fifty miles of Van Diemen's Straits, the last two days of the passage having been retarded by strong currents to the northward: when close to the straits the mountains of Kiusu and its smaller sister-isle, shut off the north-east wind, which had been as constant as a monsoon hitherto almost the whole distance from Aian, and the navigation of the straits became most tedious; as we had no steamer to tow us and in a few hours bring us to the open sea, to do which six days were spent. At dawn on the 17th, one of those striking views, characteristic of Japan, presented itself: to the south stretched the groups of the Cecille Archipelago, with bold outlines attaining altitudes of two or three thousand feet; foremost amongst them rose, towering, and abrupt an active volcanic islet; to the North, rising immediately from the beach, was the "precipitously steep" cone Mount Horner, about four thousand feet high; to the N.E. and N.W. the bluff Capes of Kiusu, surmounted by lofty mountains were visible; and seaward and landward the eye rested on the still active pro-

cesses of nature's laboratory, as the sun, undimmed by a cloud or unaccompanied by the pomp of golden and purple vapours, heralded only by exquisite violet hues shed on the zenith and the western sky, appeared a glowing fiery orb, and revealed the fertility of the low lands and the fruits of the patient industry which cultivates the hills to their summits: everywhere round us were the evidences of a dense population, and crowds of boats long and sharp, with large square sails set very far aft, skimmed the waters.

We were looking at the territories of the most enlightened of the feudal princes, who surreptitiously encourages trade to his dominions, and protects himself from the machinations of the jealous council of Government at Yeddo by vigilance, astuteness, and some show of his force. It is believed to be the only province in which the spies of the Council dare not penetrate; for so quick is the provincial police that they are discovered and killed almost immediately upon their entrance into the state; and the Council cannot investigate the murder of their spies, as, though it is the custom of the land, it is not legal to employ

such agents. Rumour avers that the Americans are anxious to get access to one of the ports, if not to the capital (fourth or fifth in extent in the empire) of this province; and except perhaps the difficulty of access to sailing vessels in the N. E. monsoon, there is no portion of Japan which presents more attractions for commerce.

At daylight on the 20th, we saw the long hilly island of Amakusa to the eastward, and above it the lofty round knoll of Simibara, below which dwelt the early Christanised population, whose persecution and extermination was effected by the aid of Dutch arms and artillery. In the east the Dutch governors and rulers seem at all times, *now* as much as formerly, to have forgotten that Philip II. and Alva ever lived, and have recollected the noblest era of their annals, only to imitate the conduct of the tyranny their great ancestors so successfully opposed.

As we approached the volcanic peaks of the peninsula of Omoora, under one of which lay our distant port Nagasaki, a sail was seen, and in a moment, the hopes and fears, which for three months had with difficulty been re-

strained, were excited by the expectation of at length getting some newspapers,—three months of war, too! Ideas of peace were entertained by a few; and the most sanguine felt assured that Sebastopol and Sweabourg had fallen: anxiety for friends mingled with the proud anticipations of triumph: signals were hoisted and answered, and great was our disappointment to learn that four steam corvettes were in the harbour lately quitted by the surveying schooner in sight, which, as she had no letters for us, went on her surveying path.—We braved all sorts of interpretations of this sign of the campaign: that these vessels had been long lying in inactivity at such a distance from the enemy occurred only to the hesitating apprehension of one high mind, ever brooding on the best plan of redeeming a lost opportunity, and keenly sensitive of the shadow of ill success.

CHAP. IX.

Nagasaki Harbours. — Defences.—Signs of high Cultivation.— Cordons of Boats still used against Foreigners. — Uncivil Treatment of English Officers by Japanese Authorities. — Ill Effects of a bad Treaty. — Climate in Summer. — Difficulties in obtaining Refreshments or Provisions for the Ships. — Exercise Ground given. — Attempts to alter the undignified Position of a Great Power. — Law made since Captain Pellew's Visit in 1808. — Visit to the Governor. — Steam Tender employed.—Accompanied by Native Boats.— Description of Boats. — Inner Harbour. — Dutch Ships of War. — City of Nagasaki. — Dezima. — Interview. — Less Politeness than at Hakodadi. — Old Feelings of Contempt kept alive. — Talents of Japanese in conducting Conversations.— Refreshments.— The Endeavours to get the Terms of the Convention carried out foiled. — Return from Interview. — Dutch Commodore visits English Commodore privately.—English and French Admirals arrive at Nagasaki.— At so late a Season another Expedition sent to the Amùr.— Its Chances of Success. — Mistakes made during the two last Summers. — Prospects for next Campaign. — Russian Prisoners request to be landed. — The Conditions. — Fruitless Negotiation. — Trade with Japan. — Difficulties of Exchange.— Causes. — Probable Consumption of Woollen and Cotton Fabrics. — Copper Mines — Less valuable — Require the Aid of Science and superior Mechanics. — Missionary Field. — Caution. — Medical Missionaries. —Benefit to be derived from Resident Diplomatic Agents. — Regrets at leaving Japan after so short a Glimpse. — Advantages possessed by the Japanese.

THE wind lessened as we came nearer to the high land to the north-east, and the whole day

and night were spent in working in through narrow channels between islands cultivated to their summits, on which batteries en barbette are placed, for guns of varying calibre, carefully covered by wooden sheds; their well-dressed slopes and embrasures displaying Dutch art and Dutch neatness: in some cases revetments of rough masonry are carried up from the water's edge; and in one instance a rocky islet has been joined to its neighbour by a causeway erected on a stone foundation. The positions of the batteries have probably been marked out by Dutch officers, and are well chosen generally, and would be obstructions to the entrance of sailing-vessels, though, with their present want of cover for gunners, they could not be long occupied if the attack was intelligently directed.

The bay of Nagasaki is a wide though not deeply indented basin, studded with islands of various sizes from scores of acres in extent to single rocks, and their distribution forms the external and middle harbours; the former is exposed to the west, but the latter is very secure: the inner harbour lies in a narrow firth,

extending three miles inland: at its head is the small town of Nagasaki.

Before we reached the middle harbour a Japanese boat approached, and a communication was made, to the effect that it was necessary to anchor in the outer harbour until further directions were received from the governor; the smaller passages between the islands and the mouth of the inner harbour were obstructed by cordons of boats—in the latter case chained together; and it was trying to the temper to turn from the smiling cheerful faces of the hilly shores animated by so many expressions of agricultural prosperity to the miserable guard-boats on every side of us, and to the port regulations which so ignominiously restricted us to our ship, or an uninhabited islet not large enough for a public school's play-ground; restrictions so degrading to the national flag, and which, without violence, an able negotiator, arriving with the large squadron assembled in this harbour last September, by a firm assertion of the respect due to the naval forces of his sovereign, by amenity of conduct, and by maintenance of strict discipline, could have abrogated, and not

lost the prestige attending the first appearance of a British squadron in Japanese waters.

It might not be amiss to compare the results obtained here with those gained by the distinguished British plenipotentiary to Siam with a brig and corvette, or with the end effected by the manly and generous diplomacy of the United States minister; and although few of the brilliant anticipations of the Americans have been realised, still, to be detained with a fine squadron six weeks in port, at the declaration of war; to receive insulting excuses for delays in answering communications made to the Japanese government; to be almost prevented for some time from obtaining necessary supplies, and eventually to be cajoled into signing a convention the terms of which can be turned against the object sought to be attained, and which preclude amendment, was a species of diplomacy quite novel, and which for the credit of the country should never be permitted to be repeated. It is now known that during those six weeks, Russian men-of-war were cruising near the same shores, and continued to do so — unmolested — until the following spring.

After the civil treatment experienced at Hakodadi during both our visits, and remembering the facilities offered to the Russians and Americans at the ports "opened" by the latter power, it was very galling in the British port *par excellence*, "opened" by us, to hear the cool assumption of authorised inhospitality adopted by the officials. Every denial was made with a perfect readiness to read the convention on the lightest murmur, and we were half-starved in accordance with the provisions of our own treaty. To land on any part of the shore save the desert islet; to pull into the inner harbour or about the harbours; to buy anything, except such food as the officials could procure; or even to visit the officers of the two Dutch men-of-war in the inner harbour, was *forbidden*. Strong language to be applied to a British commander with a strong squadron under his orders!! Why show the force at all? Any future commercial difficulties can hardly be settled by sending a frigate, where a large force has been exhibited without ensuring respect, and it may be necessary hereafter to strike a blow instead of pur-

suing the more magnanimous policy of only exhibiting strength.

The weather was intensely hot during the day; at night a light land breeze somewhat reduced the temperature; in the evening, when a stroll along the pretty shores would have been so pleasant, the alternatives offered were to sit on the lone island, or to sail in the harbour; neither affording exercise, though the latter was generally the chosen employment, to the trouble and dismay of the guard boats which followed, or tried to follow, — the poor crews labouring at their oars, until exhausted their harsh monotonous songs died away in the distance. We heard that the eastern and south-eastern parts of Nipon and Kiusu enjoy the most temperate climate; sheltered by the mountain ranges in the centre of the islands from the cold winds which blow in winter from the high lands of central Asia, they are open to the south winds which are constant in summer, and the provinces accordingly having these aspects are the richest, the most fruitful, and the most populous.

Difficulties had arisen before the frigate's arrival with respect to provisions for the steam ships, and excuses had attended all requests made by succeeding senior officers to wait upon the Governor, who always "was too ill to be seen;" and the discussion of such points with inferior officials usually closed with the assertion that the terms of the convention entered into with the admiral expressly stated that implicit obedience was to be paid to the port regulations of Japan, and as the restrictions complained of were imposed by the port regulations, that therefore there could be no discussion, but only the promised compliance. To such logic the only answer to be made was, that amicable and hospitable relations are included in the fundamental articles of all such treaties, and that to be starved and ill-treated by local laws and customs opposed to the spirit of the treaty, was at once the greatest violation of the amicable relations proposed to be formed by it.

What were the answers given I do not know; for some days all communications on the subject were replied to by—"We have no power,"—"We must adhere to the treaty,"—or

—"The Governor alone can alter any port regulation."—The expression of the Commodore's desire to pay a visit to his Excellency was for some time met by—"A new Governor is daily expected;" and when at length conceded, there was a stipulation that if in the meantime before the following day,—that appointed for the visit,—any more ships of war should arrive, that a further postponement must take place, as since the daring entrance of Captain (now Sir F.) Pellew in 1808, the orders of the Imperial Government had been received that the guns and forts in the harbour were to be manned and ready for defence in case of need, on the first appearance of foreign ships off the coast.

No more ships came in, so that early on the 24th the officials arrived to say that the governor would be ready at nine o'clock to receive the desired visit: the hired steam-tender had already commenced "to get up steam," and the officials were informed of the commodore's intention of proceeding in her, and invited either to accompany him and order their boats to be towed, or to precede him, as the steamer would go much faster than the boats.

Such a proposition seemed to take the Japanese by surprise, accustomed as they had been to assume the most authoritative control over the movements of British officers in their waters, and they declared such a thing was unheard of and impracticable. No change of mind was caused by their objections, only ample time was allowed them to communicate with the governor and the officers commanding the batteries and forts: the authorities instantly availed themselves of the time given, and their boats were rapidly borne along to the rude cadence of their standing oarsmen, to convey the intelligence to the officials of the nine provinces which they declared would be affected by the change of plan.

Accordingly, at a few minutes before nine, the Tartar weighed anchor and steered towards the town, about three miles distant, and long before she reached the line of heavy sailing junks moored across the entrance to the inner harbour, a broad opening was made for her ingress: no delay occurred, as would probably have been the case had we gone in boats, and as did happen last year at the visit of ceremony paid by the veteran

admiral, who was detained for an hour by a barrier which a sailor's knife might have cut in a few seconds, and which submission led the astute diplomatists of Japan into the secret of the amiable character with which they had to deal.

The entrance to the inner harbour is narrow and the hills rise abruptly on each side, presenting many good sites for batteries, some of which the Japanese have taken advantage of: these hills are green with crops or the verdure of the woods which the Japanese have left here and there on them to supply firewood. The prettiest spots in the gullies are occupied by temples. As the harbour is entered, the further hills are seen to rise less steeply, leaving easy slopes for some distances near the shores, and on one of these slopes lies the town of Nagasaki; covering a large space with its gardens and streets interspersed with good timber, dwarfed trees, and shrubs.

We passed close to two Dutch war-steamers anchored off the town: their officers and crews, in full dress, were on the decks, and their flag was lowered, as the only salute allowable in Japanese waters; a salute punctiliously and instantly answered, as their

officers were seen to uncover and the marines to present arms. Two Dutch merchant vessels, one of about 600, and the other of about 300 tons, were moored near their men-of-war, and looked very light and in shoal water.

The view of Dezaim conjured up varied feelings: a very small, fanshaped island, surrounded by stone scarps, crowded with Indo-European houses, and separated from the suburb by a narrow ditch,— a stagnant dirty-looking ditch, hardly too large for an active school-boy to leap,—to cross which there stood a high-arched bridge. The whole thing bore the impress of the base subserviency of self-respect to commercial gain; and it was to achieve such an exclusive position that the Dutch arms had been employed against their fellow Christians of the Roman Catholic faith. Poetical justice could scarcely have awarded a more fitting retribution than the degrading imprisonment and fast dwindling commerce of the Batavians at Nagasaki, and the material symbol of their punishment stands almost in sight of the rocky islet in the middle harbour, down whose precipitous sides the Roman Catholic converts were hurled into the sea.

Now as we steamed in, their balconies were full of eager gazers, longing, I believe, for the hour when freeer commerce with all the Western nations will release them from their sad immurement.

Our steamer dropped her anchor about half a mile from the factory and from the place which, surrounded by boats, seemed to be that intended for our disembarkation: the "gigs" were lowered, and forming in procession, accompanied by many Japanese skiffs, were steered towards a rough flight of steps, near which many boats were moored, draped with calico to conceal the sitters. The authorities were waiting on each side of the pier, and troops armed with matchlocks and spears lined the square beyond it: as the captains of the ships reached the head of the steps, the high officials met them with good breeding and dignity, and requested them to go forward to the Governor's palace. Numbers of policemen escorted us on either hand,—short, muscular, well-limbed, and each with his two swords. We ascended three flights of stone steps, the houses and streets on each side being curtained off; in the guard-houses. we saw

officers and men sitting *à la Japannaise*, their "arms" resting in the racks behind them, all the steel being covered up: one officer, mounted on a small shabby pony, seemed to be in command of the body of troops, about 300 in number, and brought up the rear of the procession as far as the first flight of steps.

At the head of the third flight of stone stairs *à la Maltaise* there was a small square, upon one side of which the verandah of a large single-storied house opened: this small square was also lined by troops, and passing them on either hand, we ascended the wooden steps of the verandah: some apparently higher officials met us as we entered, and heralded us along dark matted passages into a small low chamber, divided from its neighbouring compartments by high wooden partitions: at the back of this apartment chairs were ranged, on which we were invited to sit.

Nearly half an hour elapsed before a messenger arrived to say, with the Governor's compliments, that he would soon be ready to receive his visitors in another room: a few

minutes subsequently, the commodore and the other officers were ushered into another compartment of the building, rather than a room in our sense of the word: we saw four high dignitaries standing before us, the room containing nearly a dozen other officials on their knees: to the standers the British officers bowed, and the salutation was returned in the same way; an introduction of the British officers followed, and the governor put an end to the first interview, by stating that he hoped in a few minutes, after refreshments had been taken, to have some conversation; upon which we were taken back again into the outer room, whilst the dignitaries of the city retired to another room, to conclude the pipes from which they had been separated; and they could be seen seated round a small brazier, enjoying themselves, when the screen separating the apartments was occasionally opened.

Pipes and tobacco were introduced and placed before each guest by the kneeling two-sworded attendants, and sweetmeats were subsequently brought in little lacquered boxes and

set upon light and rough deal tables in front of each visitor.

I believe that all over the East to share the pipes and the refreshment offered to your guests is the law of politeness, and in our intercourse with the high-born Governor of Hakodadi nothing could have surpassed the breeding with which we were received: immediately on our arrival the governor entered the reception room, and, after a few compliments, invited us to smoke and to take refreshments, sharing both himself; but to see five captains of British men-of-war quietly eating, drinking, and smoking in an outer room, while the host was regaling himself in a separate apartment, was a sight to inflame any spirit imbued with the sentiment that the proud assertion "Civis Romanus sum" was not a title to respect comparable with that of the representatives of the naval power of England. The chief of the first squadron sent to these waters had submitted; a junior could but quietly follow the example. I may have been wrong, and may still be wrong, but I felt then, and feel now, whilst hurriedly copying my rough notes, that such yielding is degrading, and as far as na-

tional interests are concerned, a fault as well as a crime—a crime of leze Majesté against the dignity of Britain. The French Commodore, when threatened with similar treatment, is supposed to have represented that in *his* country host and guest met at the same table, and that under no other conditions would he accept the *déjeuner* offered him.

The objects of the forthcoming interview, I presume, were to remonstrate against the severity of the restrictions imposed upon British ships of war in a port opened to them by an amicable convention;—to show that these restrictions were founded on port regulations at variance with the main purport of the convention;—to demand why at the ports opened to the Americans, and subsequently to us conjointly with them, liberty to land, to buy Japanese manufactures, and to walk about the country was granted; and whilst at Hakodadi and Simoda such comparative freedom was permitted, at Nagasaki—the port selected by the Japanese and British governments as the point of amicable contact between the two nations—insulting restrictions were placed upon the armed vessels of Her Britannic Majesty?

Besides being forbidden to fire their guns, and to sound around their vessels, the extreme interference of the Japanese port regulations extended to a denial of the right of intercommunication between the men-of war. Fish, fruit, and vegetables were also required in larger quantities. To assist the gaining the ends of the conference, seven of Her Majesty's vessels were in the harbour, and four other large frigates were expected daily.

The refreshment having been enjoyed,— sponge-cakes, sweetmeats, sugar-candy, jelly-like condiments, were the components,— we were again ushered into the smaller adjoining apartment, where, seated on mats on a low dais, were four officials, behind whom crouched nearly two dozen inferiors: the four chiefs did not rise on our entrance; but the chief interpreter begged us to be seated on chairs placed facing the dais. On the left of the dais was a tall, thin, emaciated man, with eyes half dimmed, and his figure constantly shaken by a troublesome cough. His life seemed prematurely worn: he was dressed in the fine dark crapes worn by the higher dignitaries, underneath which shone a yellow silk robe; silk petticoat, trousers of a pale purple, light grey

socks, no shoes, and the upper light gauzy crape spencer so cut as to form shadowy epaulettes, and invariably donned on full dress occasions, were the remainder of his vestments. Next him sat an old, strong, healthy man, with a good countenance, dressed like the official on his left, colours and crest alone differing. Behind these two stood men with reversed swords, indicative of their being the relieved and the relieving governors. Next came a tall thin young man, with a face expressive of finesse, and lighted up by keen black eyes, also dressed with the happy taste in combining colours obviously natural to this nation: and last sat a large, heavy, bloated, middle-aged man, with coarse features, rather European in character; yet even on his unwieldy person were crapes of most delicate quaker tints: these two latter personages laid their longer swords beside them on the dais. Behind each of the four grandees two scribes were seated, and several other officials lined two sides of the room in their crouching, feet-hiding posture; and lastly, in front of the left or relieved governor knelt the two interpreters.

His Excellency expressed his pleasure in

seeing the Commodore, who replied that he was glad that the governor's health had so much improved as to permit him to receive a visit. A few more compliments passed, not quite in the low murmurings nor amidst the solemn silence characteristic of our interviews at Hakodadi. The Commodore then, with naval intrepidity and quiet tact, commenced the attack upon the restrictions imposed on the squadron. Our interpreter, bred up from early boyhood in Hong Kong, and lately employed in an English printing-office, though speaking his native tongue with fluency, rendered the substance of all conversations in such patches and shreds, that it was an exercise of ingenuity to sew them together so as to hold sensibly together, and thus gave great advantages to the wily diplomatists before us, which, as well as their daily practice in the arts of rising in a country where acuteness and finesse are thought most highly of, tended to make a war of words rather hazardous. "The ships are not supplied with such provisions as they require," would be met with "There is a treaty, made by your admiral, and not to be altered; what does it say?" "In our

language the word used is 'refreshments; refreshments are water, wood, and vegetables." All that could be said was encountered by "Wait till the Admiral comes," "He knows what is meant by the treaty," "It never was meant that you should land, walk about, buy from the natives, or hold any intercourse with them." "The words used are precise," "The English treaty must be badly translated," "It cannot be altered," "It has only been made a few months." An affectation of our totally misunderstanding the object of the treaty, and that we were decidedly ignorant of the Japanese terms, which, indeed, so reduced the limits of concessions as to render them valueless, were the defensive weapons of their war of masterly inactivity.

When the interview had already lasted some time, and our hosts had passed stealthily and logically from defensive to offensive phrases, the use of a steamer to come to the interview, the exercising of the boats technically termed "manning and arming boats," and numerous small breaches of the port regulations, were successively brought upon the *tapis*, by simply demanding whether such

and such things were true, as reported to the governor. On the admission of the accuracy of the reports, requests were made that such occurrences should not happen again; and the pursuit was so hotly conducted by these astute politicians, that "*sauve qui peut*" seemed to be the desire of all; and the ideas of insisting on landing places, of walking at once about the city on the termination of the interview, of having bazaars for the sale of Japanese products, and of calling on the Dutch officers of the steamers, which had filled the busy imaginations of the younger portion at least of the visitors, flew away before the quiet close phalanx of arguments employed by the Japanese; and even a suggestion that *the Captains* would like to purchase some articles of Japanese manufacture was politely referred by the relieved governor, who was the chief spokesman, to the relieving governor, who said "that it should be considered."

The interview lasted till near 4 P.M. with an hour's interval at noon, when we were again conducted into an outer room and served with refreshments; interpreters and secre-

taries occasionally entering to pay some compliment, or to see us eating and drinking. The mid-day repast consisted of thick vermicelli soup served in beautifully coloured lacquer bowls, into which boiling liquors can be poured without injuring them; raw fish in different forms, without anything unpleasing in its appearance, followed the soup; then eggs, cakes, onions, and sweet potatoes dressed in strange guises; and tea very weak and bitter, saki and sweet saki, were handed round in exquisite lacquer bowls or in cups of common ware.

A little after four, when the desire to put an end to the interview had been intimated, the governor expressed "his hopes that the officers would take refreshments." "Many thanks" were returned; "the officers had already had refreshments." "The day is long, the sun commencing to go down, and the refreshments are ready," was the hospitable rejoinder. Again "many thanks" were returned. "The governor hopes the friendship still continues on both sides," "On the British part the feelings of amity are unaltered," were the next question and answer; and then the British officers, rising, prepared to leave the

room. To my astonishment the Japanese still kept their seats, and allowed their guests to bow themselves out without any change of position on their own parts.

In a few minutes we were once more eating, drinking, and smoking in the outer room: fish, soup very well cooked, hard-boiled eggs, vegetables, fruits,—principally pears of watery or hard tasteless sorts,—and an immense cranberry-like fruit with the interior resembling a medlar in flavour, were served, with second editions of raw fish, onions, cakes, saki, and tea. Large silver spoons and forks were placed near each guest, and likewise coarse chopsticks of cedar. Half an hour was consumed in our second repast; and we then returned to the boats, finding the streets, steps, squares, and pier lined by troops, as at our landing.

A few seconds took us to the steamer, on which the frigate's band was still playing; and in a few more we were steaming out of the pretty harbour, followed by numerous boats whose crews' cries were happily nearly drowned by the band.

As we approached the Dutch steamer, a boat

was seen to leave her side and be pulled towards the little tender, whose rapid pace was slackened as the gig drew up alongside; and the captain of the Dutch man-of-war stepped on the deck. He spoke English perfectly, and gave us an intimation that the Dutch negotiations were drawing to a close, and that there was less caution exercised by the provincial authorities to cut off intercourse between the Dutch and natives, as the former now landed and walked about the country, easily shaking off the police escorts ordered to accompany their parties. He also inquired with eagerness about news from Europe, as he had been many weeks already in the harbour, and asked how the siege of Sevastopol progressed. His stay on board was brief; and as we passed his vessel the colours were once more dipped, her marines presented arms, and her officers uncovered their heads. The first compliment was returned as quickly as possible, —to my apprehension a less noisy, simpler, and more flattering compliment than the discharge of powder from the muzzles of a dozen guns, and perhaps more worthy of civilised nations than the present custom.

The broiling day was coming to a close as we passed the cordon of boats moored across the mouth of the inner harbour, and met the fresh sea-breeze not yet dying away.

The French and British admirals arrived at Nagasaki in their fine frigates, towards the end of September, and were soon followed by the Pique and La Sibylle (French). The sight of so many noble vessels gathered together was grateful to the feelings, despite of the continued indignities offered by the Japanese, and the failure of so many hopes once entertained. It began to be whispered, whether truly or falsely, that urgent requests to be sent against the enemy's stronghold had been made by several of the captains; and at last it was rumoured that an expedition to the Amùr had been determined on. The season for successful operations was nearly over; for from the best authorities it appeared that the 15th of October was often the date of the freezing over of the river Amùr and its lower channels: yet the burning desire to achieve some distinction, and to effect some injury to the enemy, caused the gallant crews selected to forget the long,

fruitless cruise they had just performed, and to look forward, even at this late period, to some active service under the leading of the popular, zealous, and energetic Commodore.

Such a thing was only just possible in the middle of October: for the past six months it had been not only practicable, but probably far easier and less bloody than can ever be the case again, as the Russians are not in the habit of throwing away valuable time, and as I had ascertained from the Russian officers that the long narrow and shallow passage into the gulf had been strongly fortified, and that troops from the *place d'armes* at the mouth of the river could be brought down to aid in their defence. Still it is within the range of possibility that the Russian commander, trusting to the accounts sent from Japan of the probable plans of the English Admiral, may have ordered the fine corvette Olivutska to the south to spy out the proceedings of the allied squadrons; in which case I am sure she has been ere now added to our navy. All that skill, daring, and judgment can effect will be done; and though, at this late season, the return of all our own

vessels will be a sufficient voucher of the talents of their commander, I yet trust to hear that the passage into the rich and valuable Russian possessions in North-eastern Asia has been discovered, and that some firm data have been afforded for the future prosecution of a war in the further East, on which much more may depend than at first blush appears. The conquest of the Mantchu Tartars by Russia would be the most difficult step in gaining possession of Northern China; and how easily that step can be taken is dimly discernible through the broken and uncertain accounts we have of her rapid conquest of the tribes on the river Amùr.

I had already trespassed for six months on the hospitality of my accomplished friend; and on the eve of entering on ground so fertile in interest, I was under the necessity of proceeding homewards. That a reconnaissance of this territory has not been made, with the view of laying before the Government the very valuable information which must result from its examination by an officer of ordinary intelligence, is a fault attributable to some responsible authority.

Last autumn it might have been done without other risk, it now seems, than that of capturing two frigates at Castries Bay: this spring it was probably a more difficult operation; but not having been attempted, its difficulty cannot be calculated: next spring even a reconnaissance of the Amùr gulf may be impracticable. The importance of the position is proved by the orders sent last spring from St. Petersburg to concentrate all the naval forces in the Amùr; and a successful attack upon it at the commencement of the war would have shaken Russian influence with the Tartars, who are now almost ready for the yoke. It was most tantalising to be forced to forego a last chance of seeing Russian batteries levelled by the rapid firing of well-exercised crews; though six years' absence from England increased the tempting prospect of a return homewards.

Before the little squadron started for the north, the Russian prisoners made strong appeals to the Admiral to be sent back on their parole not to serve until regularly exchanged. They had high hopes of success; and anticipating a very short stay as possible by the squadron sent

with them, on account of the early setting-in of the ice, they with the light hearts of parting guests continued to express their sense of the hospitality and friendship evinced by their captors. One commander generously placed his cabin and his table for nearly two months at the disposition of two Russian lieutenants, and the other officers lived with the allied officers of the same ranks in the greatest *fraternité;* and it was quite pleasing to hear their expressions "smoothing the rough front of war," especially the tones and terms employed when they spoke of the generous commander who had taken the Greta. Subsequently these hopes were dashed after long deliberation, and unfortunately after the proposition of stipulations felt by the Russian officers to be incompatible with their honour; as they seemed to consider the terms proposed as equivalent to requesting them to lead the British squadron into the position occupied by their ships,—terms which no British officer, I am sure, could insult his prisoners by proposing; for no veil of casuistry could hide the dishonour of such a proposal, nor cover the disgraceful cowardice which could so

outrage the feelings of the captive officers. However, no words of mine could arrest the indignant floods of eloquence poured out against what the prisoners said had been proposed, though I must add that they continued to acknowledge the courtesy with which they had hitherto been treated by the Commodore and his officers; and sad as is the fate of all prisoners, to be deprived of pay and rank, and to be treated as civilly dead, are additional misfortunes awaiting a Russian officer when captured.

As yet no British trading-ship has visited the ports of Japan. Two or three small American vessels, a Hamburg barque, and a Bremen brig, have attempted to open commerce either by barter or by the aid of western coins. No surreptitious trade can succeed by the use of the latter media, owing to the difficulties attendant on passing the precious metals in coin to the government or the Dutch and Chinese factories at Nagasaki: perhaps the government would receive gold and silver or even copper, as the mines would appear to be less valuable than formerly, and as the government has hit upon the illusory and unfortunate expedient

of debasing the currency to hide the decreasing productiveness of the mines. Indeed, its monetary proceedings with the squadron proved that it no longer wished the Dutch to receive the metallic payments made by the ships, although it still employed the Dutch factory to negotiate the bills which were given for the provisions sent on board by the instrumentality of the officials.

With respect to purer commercial transactions it is very difficult to argue. With so large a population, estimated variously at from fifty to one hundred millions, the mere commencement of an exchange of products would be a valuable opening. As yet we are ignorant how far the taste for western products can be generated: to judge, however, by the upper classes, the desire of being dressed in Chinese silks and crapes is apparent, and would seem to justify the prediction that so many millions, inhabiting a variable climate, would gladly be clothed in our lighter cotton fabrics in summer, and in our warm woollens in winter, instead of wearing coarse cotton garments, fold upon fold, in cold weather, and roaming nearly nude in the sultry months.

How long it may be before the Japanese become customers of ourselves or the Americans depends, I think, greatly on the judgment and talents employed in putting the commercial interests of the countries into relation; and I have no doubt that a clever and experienced minister, acquainted with commercial matters, would soon discover the best channels for enterprise. The race between us and the Americans for this market is as yet doubtful, as the struggle has been hitherto committed, on both sides, to hands unused to the guidance of such competition. A great field for the talents of one or both branches of the Anglo-saxon race will be still easier opened, if I am rightly informed as to the state of the valuable copper mines of Japan, of which the working is gradually ceasing, owing to the want of engines to keep them clear of water. Once admitted as workmen in the mines, and surrounded by a swarming population, who can predict the issue? The first engine from Glasgow would be the avant courier of a gentle and gradual revolution in Japan, and the commercial industry of the West would export our products and introduce a higher

civilisation, and eventually, I trust, a purer religion.

The upper classes are already seeking the possession of watches, clocks, mechanical, nautical, and thermometrical instruments, telescopes, and glasses of all descriptions; and a few resident Europeans would encourage these and similar tastes.

Of the prospect of successful missions there is even greater difficulty in forming an opinion. Of one thing, however, there can be little doubt,—that great caution and judgment should attend the deliberation of the question, "where missionaries should be sent;" and any underhand attempt to distribute tracts through the agency of inferior diplomatic officers should be resisted by all who wish for the permanent christianisation of this demoralised land. An open, honest, and manly method of proceeding is the only one likely to have more than temporary success with a people brought up to the use of deceit, adulation, and cunning.

A demand for the celebration of divine service in the houses of our consuls should be firmly made; and chaplains who are medically

educated would acquire great influence,— as we have learnt in the neighbouring empire of China,— amongst a people whose remedies are simple, and who are almost ignorant of chirurgy.

On all such points a cursory visit will only admit of cautious suggestions being offered by the visitor. I have, however, a strong persuasion that many beneficial efforts would follow a commercial treaty, drawn up by a talented plenipotentiary, and that the temporary residence of such an officer would, at all events, tend to unveil the resources of Japan, and to afford information on the most favourable openings for commercial transactions, and to unravel the ties with which Russia is slowly and surely binding both the Japanese and Tartars.

It was with great regret that I left these shores, so interesting and so little known, and of which enough had been revealed to me to ascertain the wealth, fertility, and populousness of a partially civilised nation, possessing in all classes, except the highest, those strong and hardy elements of character which lead to hopes of regeneration; and in common with

nearly all travellers who have visited Japan, I carry away with me no slight affection for an amiable race, suffering from degrading tyranny and debasing superstitions,—hardy seafaring islanders,—whose natural advantages of extensive sea coasts, mines, rich soil, fine climate, and well situated position, would, under a tolerably enlightened government, render a flourishing commercial people.

CHAP. X.

Leave Nagasaki in Steamer under Sail. — Gale of Wind. — Fruitless Attempt to put back under Steam. — Run before the Gale.—Approach the Yang-tse-kiang.—Shanghai. —Aspect the Year before when held by the Rebels. — State of the Rebellion. — The Christianity professed by "the Brethren."—New Testament Distribution. — Leave Shanghai. — Hong Kong. — Increase. — Coasts of Cochin China. — Singapore. — Chinese Monopolies. — Industrial Trades. — Cultivated Interior of Island. — Pulo Penang. — Its Beauty. — Partially destroyed. — Waterfall. — Fort. — Ceylon. — Richness of Cocoa-nut Trees. — Chinese Emigration proposed. — Old Fort. — Promenade. — Lady Overboard. — Endeavours to find her fruitless. — Aden. — Its Strength.— Its Aridity. — Shores of Red Sea. — Suez. — Desert Roads. — Cairo. — Its peculiar Character. — Gardens.—Railroad. — Alexandria. — M. de Lesseps' Scheme of a Canal from Peluse to Suez. — Advantages to Egypt. — Effect upon our Eastern Possessions. — English Policy. — Strength of the Defences of Alexandria. — Malta. — French and English Soldiers in the Cafés. — Improvements in the Works. — Maltese Architecture. —Gibraltar. —Its Strength discussed. —Tarifa. — Cintra. — Reach Southampton.

At dawn of the 30th September, availing myself of the proffered hospitality of the Commander of H. M. steam sloop Styx, I was sailing out of the middle harbour of Nagasaki before a strong north-easterly

breeze, which so freshened before we lost sight of the romantic coast of Kiusu, that it was thought prudent to attempt to return under steam to the harbour: the attempt to steam against a rising gale was unsuccessful; the fires were therefore put out, and we ran before the wind in splendid style. As we left the mountains and the straits of Corea behind us, the gale moderated, and the sight ever pleasing to a thorough landsman of all the studding sails set, greeted my eyes almost until the afternoon of the 2nd October, when the discoloured water and distant islands announced our approach to the Queen of Chinese rivers. We failed to catch a glimpse of the rocky natural pyramid named after the industrious missionary Gutzlaff, and anchored in the broad shoreless stream at night, hoping that the following morning's dawn would reveal the rock.

The day broke with clouds and mist, and it was necessary to run down a little to "sight" the islet; after accomplishing which our course against the rapid yellow-brown stream was unaccompanied by any difficulties. The sight of the cotton crops still on the ground, and

the rich vegetation on each bank, announced our entrance into the fertile valley of the Yang-tse-kiang. In a few hours the church steeples of Shanghai and many ships' masts were visible over the low intervening banks of the Woosung tributary; and the signs of commercial activity and agricultural prosperity were delightfully exhibited in the striking prospect before us. When last seen twelve months before, on the small river, now so full of western shipping and of Chinese junks, not a sail was stirring, save one European vessel in the service of the Chinese Government, which with well-padded sides was delivering an ineffectual fire against the high walls of the distant city; and the constant booming of cannon was then audible, where now the hum of the ceaseless bustle of active business alone rose from the shore.

New houses were springing up in the settlement, in which great improvements had been lately effected, and its wide and well laid out streets were thronged by Chinese labourers, carrying heavy weights on bamboo poles to the cadence of their unmusical song, "Ath-ho," "Ath-ho," plainly recognisable from

the deck of the vessel when anchored within a hundred yards of the bank, or "bund," as, with the adoption of Anglo-Indian terms so common in China, it is usually called. It is on this fine promenade that the merchants "delight to congregate," to solace themselves with the news of the day, or the more piquant tale or "canard" of the hour — the two latter when most amusing or least veritable being euphonised into the classic term of "bunder."

Any comfortable house full of newspapers would have been grateful after so long a cruise in chilly and remote seas; but it was again my good fortune to be the guest of one of the magnates of oriental commerce,— of one of that class whose generous hospitality is proverbial, but yet equalled by their less known, because delicately administered, though open-handed charity. The elegant Italian mansion of my host, so expressive of the civilisation of the West, wore a graceful aspect to eyes fresh from the wild regions of the far East.

Last year I had passed through the deserted streets of the Chinese city of Shanghai, and seen the deadly fruits of its long occupation by the band of pirates and vagabonds who

had taken it from the panic-struck officers of the Empire—walls deeply indented by cannon shot, roofless buildings, rifled dwelling houses, temples turned into manufactories of powder and guard rooms, and withal, an air of desolation so dominant that the stranger's steps resounded as if he were pacing a city disinterred from the accumulated rubbish of centuries; and occasionally the sight of a half-famished pallid Chinaman with long dishevelled hair shrinking out of view, or piteously whining for charity, were a few of the details of the rueful spectacle presented by this once flourishing city. Since its recapture by the aid of our gallant allies, it has slowly recovered a portion of its former prosperity; and in my walk through the city and its suburbs, I saw that new buildings, or the rebuilding of old structures, were progressing favourably and fast hiding the unseemly scars of the injuries inflicted by the treacherous bands from the south.

The accounts of the increase of trade in the port of Shanghai fully justify the anticipations of those who foretold its ultimate supremacy over the other ports in China—a supre-

macy already attained—and the proud boast that this settlement may yet vie with the City of Palaces in commercial greatness, may in twenty years be verified, if the sound, honest, and remunerative system of trade, lately introduced, be continued without interruption from the intestine wars of the Chinese.

Of the state of the contending parties in China it is very difficult to obtain satisfactory information; but that the success of the Chinese Christians in the northern provinces has not equalled the fond vaticinations of their zealous friends seems almost certain, and their ultimate preponderance even, to the north of the Hango, would appear doubtful; for without any intervention of the race of Tartar tribes—stipendiaries rather than subjects of the Mantchoo dynasty—sufficient force exists to preserve a large portion of the empire. Whether disasters will not supervene, from discord amongst the leaders of the Christians, and whether the universal wish for the peaceful exercise of agricultural and commercial pursuits will not cause a great reaction amongst the mass of the people, are questions which the issue of a winter campaign in the north and the

approach of a new agricultural year may settle in a few months. That any form of Christianity, however impure and however debased by the admixture of momentary political additions, should become the religious faith of so large a portion of the human family, has irresistible attractions for all wellwishers to their species; as all generous minds, while gratefully alive to the purity of their faith, would gladly assist in its dissemination amongst other nations; still the cause of truth can never be served by highly over-coloured representations of the merits of the Chinese converts, to whom praise has been so indiscriminately given. Indeed, the sensible and prudent wellwishers and aiders of this movement might do inestimable good by devoting their energies to the distribution of the New Testament in the Chinese and Tartar languages, and by endeavouring to decry the poetical and mystical rhapsodies so current amongst "the brethren," and which it is sad to see are highly rated by Europeans whose talents and piety are justly venerated.

With our vast commerce with China, we yet are comparatively ignorant of the exten-

sive provinces in the interior of the Empire, and I believe that more is known of the internal condition of China at Rome and St. Petersburg than to our authorities at Shanghai or Canton: not on account of any negligence on the part of our diplomatic agents, but from the extended ramifications of the Roman Catholic missions in all parts of China and Tartary, from which for many years much accumulated information on all points of interest has been obtained, and from the advantages possessed by Russia, both in being permitted to maintain a college at Pekin, and also in her having conterminous frontiers of vast extent: on these borders trading transactions licitly or illicitly occur, to knit closer the political web with which Russia is silently ensnaring the Tartars and Chinese.

Early on the 8th of October I quitted Shanghai, and, with favourable wind, tide, and current, floated fast down on the yellow muddy river, and "Night with her hundred eyes" glancing so brightly and purely through the clear atmosphere, gleamed on our rapid passage through the romantic and rocky islets which stud the coast. With tolerable speed the

fresh north-easterly monsoon wafted our old steamer within sight of Hong Kong by the morning of the 12th.

The bold outlines of this small island did not wear their most flattering aspect, but looked burnt, bleak, and arid, and were reflected on the smooth glowing surface of the windless harbour, on which the rays of the tropical morning sun glared fiercely. A three years' residence had slowly accustomed the eye to find beauty in the barrenness before me, but a short absence, however, sufficed to bring back the first impressions of its burning aridity. Here, also, improvements and increase of wealth and population were evident; and it is to be hoped that the large aims and unwearied assiduity of the distinguished and accomplished governor will continue to have the good results anticipated by his enlightened patriotism.

On the afternoon of the 15th I bade adieu to our Chinese colony; and as the crowd of those who had come on board to say good bye to the homeward-bound, departed, it was impossible to look on so many fine scions of the old stock without recognising the advantages England derives from the energies she

thus employs in all quarters of the globe, or to fail to foresee the liberalising influence the return home of such sons must have on the elder race, with its less pliant prejudices.

Of the many advantages commerce and colonies produce, the reaction of so many minds,—struggling with difficulties on every shore,—on the parent state, is not the least useful to the national progress in civilisation and self-government.

The overland route is so well known, and, thanks to the general ability displayed in the management of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam-boat Company, the progress homewards by the fine vessels employed is so regular, that little novelty would attend its description. To those who return in good health every thing wears a pleasing aspect, and it is most cheering to see invalids, who had been carried on board, gaining strength and day by day invigorated by sea air, even whilst in the tropics. Release from business or duty is an additional zest to the gratification of all, for as yet few idle travellers wend their way so far eastwards.

The mountains of Cochin China near which we coasted are arid and quite denuded of timber; the abodes of man for so many ages, it would

seem that they would soon cease to be habitable, and the wish to restore their original virgin fertility rises strong as the eye rests on these burning surfaces. Very different from the scenery I had lately quitted in the regions where ice-fields and fogs are unconquerable by July suns! Yet on gazing at the latter scene there was always a feeling that the eventual introduction of colonists would clear its vast forests, and that at no distant period towns, hamlets, and corn-fields would be seen where the bear now reigns supreme; and that territories larger than the original states of the great Western Union, and lying nearly under the same latitude, must one day be the seat of a high civilisation. Whilst near the tropics, man seems so prodigally to have exhausted the riches at his command, that in a few centuries "realms are dried to deserts."

The coasts of southern China, of Cochin China, of Arabia, of Egypt, of Tripolis, of Morocco—all present the same aspect of a worn-out vegetation; and I believe that the coasts of Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece are not very dissimilar in character. Man is tempted by the luxuriant and prolific vege-

tation of the tropics and warmer portions of the temperate regions to enjoy life without tasking his energies: in the colder climates labour is required to support life, and to wrestle with nature for subsistence would appear to lend such vigour to the labouring stock, that from such a race alone can it be hoped a people can rise, which shall not sink under the weight of its own powers of production.

In six days the island-studded straits of Singapore were entered, and its island-port, crowded with shipping, wore the appearance of prosperity which subsequently received information proved to be no deceitful look. The view is pretty; low, rich, and green land, with fine houses fronting the sea, and groups of cocoa-nuts and other tropical trees, hem in the settlement on every side; slight undulations at a small distance from the coast are crowded by villa-like residences around which young plantations of nutmeg and clove-trees are to be seen in most regular order. Malay boats, of every variety of construction between their own and the English type, plied between the shore and the steamer, which the shallow-

ness of water near the town compelled to lie off nearly a mile distant to deliver its mails, prior to getting into the snug and picturesque little port appropriated to the service of the steam-ship company, about three miles westward of the town. This establishment is young, but promises to afford the facilities which a depôt at such a distance should be capable of offering. The buildings and wharves are substantial and well built, and are good evidence of the creditable manner in which this useful and flourishing company is served at remote stations.

A drive across a morass along good roads and through the suburbs gave me an insight into the different races living in the settlements.

The industrious trades are in the hands of the Chinese, of whom a very large proportion of the population consists: they are found most useful settlers, and great numbers are constantly arriving, as the richer Chinese are permitted to acquire large portions of the interior of the island, and to plant colonies of their countrymen on them, which are brought often from the interior of the south-west part of China.

These men have complete possession of the remoter districts of the island,—cut down the forest, plant, sow, and reap according to the fancies of their employers, and in many cases have had no intercourse with Europeans. Indeed, a story was current that the governor of the Straits Settlements, whilst making the tour of the island, was received on the northern coast with great incivility and rudeness by villagers totally ignorant of European customs, and perhaps kept in the dark, as to the rule of England, by those who hire them for a term of years.

Malays, Mohammedans from India, and the natives of the neighbouring islands, are also encountered in the Straits; the first in great numbers: small and wiry in figure they move with an air of easy and independent *nonchalance*, which contrasts with the business-like step of the Chinese and the prouder tread of the turbanned Indians. No Chinese women, and but few Indiennes, are to be met; the Malay fair are in greater abundance, yet, from their early and fruitful marriages, look mostly of only two ages—childhood and matronhood.

I was just being consigned to the irritations of a large and uncleanly hotel, with beds worse than those of the smallest posada of Old Castile—and I know of no "lower deep" —when I fortunately met an old naval friend, who was the guest of a merchant, from whom, upon my friend's introduction, I received a hospitable invitation to spend my respite from the steamer at his country house. I was delightfully surprised on my route there to find the roads and bridges of this young colony in so good a condition, and to see that the employment of convicts, from India, was so usefully directed. Many much older colonies might suffer in the comparison of the proportional means in the hands of the directors of public works and the effects produced. Large shade-giving trees bordered the level road; and small demesnes, with the merchants' villas resting on their slopes, were on either hand; clusters of cocoa-nuts, beetel nuts, or patches of wild jungle occasionally intervened. The nutmeg tree requires great care for fifteen years before it commences to yield the large profit its crop furnishes. Kept ten or twelve yards apart, dug round and manured each year, the

constant labour of the neighbouring islanders is put into requisition to nurture them. It is a bushy, leafy, bright-leaved tree, and is pretty singly when near, or in masses at a great distance, where the regularity of the plantation is lost; in full bearing, with hundreds of pear-like depending nutmegs, just opened by ripeness and displaying the rich scarlet colour of the network (allspice) which surrounds the nut, gleaming amidst the bright green and glossy leaves, it is very beautiful. The clove-tree is somewhat similar though far less pretty, has less abundance of foliage, and looks sickly with its brittle branches. The beetel-nut is also a graceful tree with its necklace of nuts beneath the overhanging leafage, and grows in great beauty in this climate. Immediately beyond the plantations—one step,—and the jungle in all its luxuriance of tree, shrub, and interlacing creeper, is around you. A few giants of the jungle are left amidst the new plantations, but will not long outlive their cut-down brethren. They attain heights of 120 and 150 feet, and are branchless for two-thirds of their height: they have little spread of branch, and throw hardly any shade, and the timber is, I understood, perfectly useless.

Forty hours' steaming brought us in sight of Pulo Penang, or Nutmeg Island, as its Malay name signifies, or Prince of Wales's Island, as it is officially termed. This small colony has a high sanitary reputation for invalids from India and China, and is by many of the grateful convalescents admired as the "*Fior d'Oriente*," and no terms of enthusiastic praise are esteemed too high to use in speaking of it. When I first saw it, the high hills which rise in the centre of the Island were clothed with richest tropical vegetation, and the plantations of nutmeg-trees and sugar-canes were dotted on the park-like belt which lies between the steep hills and the sea. Now, however, the great clearings effected by the Chinese immigrants on the slopes of the hills had left red bleak scars, and much of this luxuriant appearance has been lost. Useful as the Chinese are as settlers in colonies where hard work is required, as the busy pliers of the handicrafts, and as clever promoters of small commercial speculations, their ruthless system of clearing forest-land under tropical suns tends to give a barren air to their locations; and much as

they at first gain by the washing of the soil from the exposed hill-sides into the vales and bottoms, this method must soon terminate in rendering even their fertile rich cotton or sugar lands less fruitful.

We landed, and during our progress through the streets of this small and not very flourishing town, the superiority of the Chinese shops, and the conquest of the industrial trades by that race, were very apparent. The increasing improvement also in the architecture of the shops seemed, strange to say, to be the effect of Chinese example, who copy, in stone or brick, the wooden verandahs and pillars of Chinese cities. The two objects of especial interest to hurried travellers, the view from the Hill top and the waterfall far below it, were not both to be compassed during our detention of a few hours, and the heat of the noonday sun decided the choice made by most of a drive to the waterfall.

The level and shaded road laid through properties of nutmegs, cloves, and sugar-canes. The former tree grows most luxuriantly in

this fertile and comparatively old colony, and one plantation of it is said to yield as much as ten thousand a year. The waterfall is first seen glancing through the thick forest, as yet undisturbed by Chinese industry. The fall is pretty, and, sitting in the deep shade and listening to the different tones uttered by its plunging, quickly rushing water, is most agreeable in the noontide of the tropics. The stream issues over four steps about 200 feet high in the rocky hill-side: the upper three are low and broad, and the water drips down in veiling wavy threads, whilst the lowest step is nearly 100 feet high, and the river is rolled into a narrow column as it leaps down it, after which it breaks its way through low rocks to the rich plain forty or fifty feet below.

Shade and murmuring waters, the two greatest luxuries in the East, would tempt to build, one would imagine; but no house, vice-regal or commercial, is to be seen within sound of the fall.

The natives here, as at Singapore, dwell in wretched huts covered by leaves of the cocoanut, which tree flourishes in this soil.

An old fort at the projecting point of the

harbour was scarcely worth a visit,—the old stereotyped bastioned fort, of such small proportions as to render that trace ridiculous, which we scatter broadcast over the globe, or which, when found by us, is retained, its older purpose of defence against the natives having long been served; whilst the few embrasures are so badly protected that no gunners could serve their pieces even against the fire of a frigate.

The noble vessel resumed her progress westwards after seven or eight hours' detention, and in five days the lofty mountains of Ceylon were visible on the north-western horizon. Slowly the lower land appeared without our detecting the fragrance our imaginations led us to anticipate as ever breathing from this queen of the Cinnamon Islands. A little after sunset the light glittered over the sea, and we were forced to remain all the long tropical night outside the port it beaconed. At dawn we steamed inwards; and I was struck by the dense, gloomy forests of cocoa-nut trees lining the shores, except on the point where the picturesque old Dutch or Portuguese fort rose a buttress against the

angry swell of the Indian Ocean. Looking at these masses of cocoa-nuts, one would hardly imagine the immediate proximity of an ancient settlement; and a glance at the harbour on which rode another of the finely modelled steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and three or four collier ships, did not speak favourably for the commercial improvement of a port at which steamships have "coaled" for so many years.

The long swell of the lately disturbed ocean rolled in as unrestrained as if the native princes still swayed the destinies of Ceylon, whilst the surging waves broke on the rocks on both sides of the narrow and short channel, teaching an engineering lesson with playful mockery.

If I am not misinformed, similar symptoms of tardiness in developing resources is patent in other portions of this rich and valuable colony, and would lead to the conclusion that, as it has passed from that stage of progress in which unlimited power can be confided to an able governor, it should be quickly led into that nobler phase in which the popular energies are more broadly represented; and the

growing difficulty in the government of Ceylon would also seem to point to the obvious advantages of a larger legislative assembly. In the successful assertion of the claims of party there is more chance of benefit to a colony than in gratifying the ambition of the few individuals who form the council; and the tone of the local press and of public opinion would be improved by the more thorough discussion of colonial interests by a large number of representatives, if many years' experience in different colonies teaches me aright.

I presume that there are obstacles to the introduction of large numbers of Chinese immigrants; a class of labourers found so useful in the islands of Singapore, Penang, Java, and Manilla,—all resembling Ceylon in climate, and in the nature of their productions: but if these obstacles are not of the gravest kind, I cannot but think that such an immigration would not only in a few years bring a large portion of the unoccupied lands into cultivation, but also greatly increase the commerce and tonnage of the ports of Ceylon, and

develop and improve the industrial and handicraft trades. A Chinaman, even if living in a climate prodigally rich in the means of existence, still retains the strong greed of gain; a character quite distinct from that of most eastern nations, and very different from the listless effeminacy of the Cingalese living on the production of their own cocoanut trees.

A walk through the regular and narrow streets of the little town, walled in by the old fort, gave us glimpses of the descendants of mixed Portuguese, Dutch, and Cingalee races, who seemed to live contentedly a quiet, unbustling existence, seated in verandahs or open doorways, and smoking as if without occupation. The old fort sustains its character of picturesqueness inside; its green slopes relieve the eye, suffering from the glare of the sun's rays; and its ramparts afford a good promenade after the heat of the day is past. Indeed, to those who delight in the gorgeous colouring of Oriental climes, there are few spots whence a finer view is obtained of the magnificence and splendour with which the setting sun invests the clouds, and of the clear

pure atmosphere it leaves so lingeringly; a view I daily enjoyed for five weeks some years ago, and I think superior to the peculiar transparency of the tint of cloudless Egyptian sunsets, and to the rich and varied hues I have seen from the strand of Macao,—the contemplation of which lent a charm to the quiet and sad life of Camoens.

Of the utility of the fort in its present state much cannot be said: it certainly keeps the sea-breeze out,— a friendly visitant who should, if possible, be admitted to the homes of the Europeans, whose pale cheeks and nerveless motions speak of the slow and steady effects of a residence in a climate generally thought favourably of.

Just before it became dark, we threaded the narrow, short, and intricate passage to sea, and with almost the certainty of a chronometrical arrangement, we were borne along ten or eleven knots an hour for two days. Hot tropical weather made the early morning stroll on deck most agreeable, and we were commencing our walk before sunrise, when a Lascar, sent up to the maintop to repair something, hailed that "a man was overboard."

The officer of the watch ran forward to order "stop the engines," and directed that a boat should be lowered. All eyes were turned towards a distant white spot behind us, as the long screw-vessel was brought slowly round. The boats were *all* unfortunately covered up with canvas tightly laced round them, from which it took many minutes to disencumber the boat ordered to be lowered, by which time all trace of the speck lately seen on the slightly rippled sea was lost. The bearing of it had been taken, however, and towards it the first boat, and, as the screw-vessel got round, a second boat, was sent. From the deck, nothing moving was visible; and all hopes of saving the unlucky Lascar believed to have fallen overboard faded. At this moment a gentleman came hurriedly on deck, and rapidly muttered, "I cannot find my wife." The captain of the vessel was immediately informed of the sad catastrophe apprehended, and the steamer continued to retrace her path, whilst both boats on different lines sought to discover any floating substance. The vessel repassed near the spot where the white object was seen, and as the last chance of saving

even the body of the drowned person went by, the tidings that a lady was the only one missing in the roll of passengers and crew became known to all. It was an unhappy tale. Suffering from mental and bodily derangement consequent on a severe shock which an accident had occasioned to the nervous system, with a tall and well proportioned figure, and a fine though pallid face, the sympathy of every one had been enlisted as she passed leaning on her husband's arm, with a weakness and languor strangely contrasting with her fine form. The agony she endured was often intense, and life loomed before her, in less excited moments, "a long disease." An only child, one temptation to take most nauseous remedies, the hope of soon seeing her parents was ever found successful. Still, for the few days preceding, greater melancholy was apparent in her air. There seemed to be no possible means open to her to injure herself, when these terrible pains of the head afflicted her. On this morning expressions of despair had escaped from her, but she was apparently soothed, and persuaded to sleep,—and left in her cabin. A narrow oblong port lighted it, out of which a child

would have great difficulty in squeezing itself. A fruitless search elsewhere led at last to an examination of the cabin, and the partially dragged-through bed-linen of the berth proved that the strong desire to put a term to sufferings, apparently irremediable, had given persistence to the unfortunate lady's struggles to get out of the ship. I had happened to have met her three years before, a blooming handsome young woman, full of gaiety and life, and had, therefore, often strove on this voyage,— unsuccesfully enough,— to beguile some of the long hours of her day.

The vessel was in about forty minutes brought round again, and continued her westerly course. No blame attaches to the officers or crew; for the delay in lowering a boat did not much affect the sad end of this accident, as the alarm was not given in time to be of much avail. Still there may arise occasions, especially when it is recollected how few European seamen are employed in steam-vessels to the eastward of the Red Sea, where many lives may be sacrificed owing to the delay consequent on ridding boats of their canvas covers; and *one* boat at least should

be kept *quite free* for immediate lowering; and as it need not be the same boat every day, much "wear and tear" would not occur.

After a week's uninteresting sail across an ocean on which few vessels are met, the barren and hilly shores of Arabia appeared in sight, and in a few hours more we saw the sultry looking peninsula of Aden before us. Its aspect from the sea is most forbidding, and the main portion looks inaccessible and strong by nature. On the lower and weaker point of land the ground is occupied by batteries; and immediately that the inner or back harbour is entered, a profusion of scarp-walls, scarped rocks, and lofty forts, announce that much art has been employed in rendering Aden impregnable.

Against Arab warfare, indeed, it almost seems that too expensive precautions have been taken, whilst the shallowness of the inner harbour, and the want of good water if aggressive operations were undertaken on land, would render an attack by any great western power nearly hopeless. Great credit is due to the ability with which so much has been done in a few years; for the improvements of the settle-

ment in the last three years were very striking. "I found it of mud, I left it of stone,"—if a great man's words may be parodied,—might be said by the officer who has ruled it lately; still, if experiments with all the hardy tropical plants, requiring little water, have not been made, the present hideous barrenness of the rocks immediately surrounding the cantonment is a blot on the fair fame of the officers employed, as a more reverberating furnace for heat it is difficult to conceive. A want of soil and a dearth of water are great obstacles; yet the old Knights of Malta contrived to remedy these evils in some measure, and modern sciences, botanical, agricultural and hydraulic, offer far more numerous expedients. Where there is so much to praise as at Aden, it is tempting to try to criticise, and to offer suggestions, probably already received from other persons; still, when all is said, it stands a fine outwork of British power in the East, and is no unfit monument of the genius of the *arme savante* of the noble army of India.

As soon as the coals were put on board, the steamer was again under weigh, and as

Aden slowly sank below the horizon, we thought that we had seen the last of our ideal of desolation and barrenness. The streets of Bakel Moadel, however, were quite as arid in appearance, and for five days we continued to sail between shores the most inhospitable and repulsive. The lofty mountains of the interior were alone pleasing to the view from the magically soft tints they wore during the intense heat of the day; — a heat quite oppressive at the lower end of the Red Sea,—even in November,—though we were on the verge of the tropics. Proceeding further to the north, a cool breeze from the desert blew almost constantly; until nearer Suez, the temperature was very chilly.

There were few signs of the increase of trade which might have been expected at the head of the gulf, and the town presented the same look of decay which it bore when I last saw it. The camels and the desert vans imparted some life to it, indeed; but those who could, were glad to get away as speedily as possible, after visiting the house in which Napoleon lived, and gazing on the dreary prospect its windows were directed to.

The desert road has been much improved, and the passage was achieved with less discomfort than was formerly the case; and as the Viceroy has commenced the formation of the railroad from Cairo to Suez, under the direction of his own officers,—who certainly could not have an easier *coup d'essai*—the transit across the desert will in a few months be accomplished in three or four hours instead of sixteen or eighteen.

The view of Cairo from any point is always most striking. There is an impress of triumphant Mahommedanism thrown over this city, difficult to describe or to account for. The numerous minarets rising in graceful forms, and standing out so clearly defined in this pure climate, have an air of youth which contrasts with our preconceived notions of the gradual wearing out of this faith, as the elements of western civilisation mingle more freely with its restrictive tendencies. These minarets arrest the gaze on whichever side it is directed, and the freshness of the tracery on the stone courts the closest inspection; but the peculiar beauty of Cairo is seen in the narrowest and oldest streets; for its

mosques and palaces yield the palm of gracefulness to the light and slender columns and exquisite arabesques of the Alhambra, and to La Giralda. The views of its streets are, however, superior to any remains of moresque architecture still visible in the more ancient parts of Granada or of Seville: and though many of the superior classes now don the close frock, and shuffle along in the tight boots, of the Franks still the mass of the population, dressed in the varied colours and flowing robes of the East, give an animation in unison with the projecting buttress, overhanging balcony, latticed window, and fretted stone work of the scene; —a gaiety of appearance which, at a distance, almost lends the life and light given by woman to our western streets, whilst the graceless inflated black bundles of silk which shroud the eastern sisterhood more than supply the sombre hues of European male attire.

The gardens of Cairo and the more renowned plaisaunce of Shoubra have been, I think, much improved since my frequent visits to them, in a former sojourn of many weeks. The grand and useful avenues of trees

on the great roads leading out of Cairo still flourish, though no signs of the care bestowed on them were visible. The "material" improvements of Mahomet Ali have already outlived the forced civilisation he so assiduously strove to rear; for each new ruler of Egypt seems to despise continuing any good work commenced by a predecessor, as much as living in a palace raised by another; and this country, if not ruled for many years by the same viceroy, promises to show as many abandoned enterprises as palaces.

The railway is, however, an exception, and notwithstanding the present ruler's schemes of commercial progress by the aid of the canal through the isthmus, it does not seem to have suffered more than was to have been apprehended from the Egyptian government's share in its formation, being the procuring of the requisite labour; a delay has in consequence arisen, with some loss, also, it is to be presumed, to the European officers employed. The buildings and railroad at the Cairo terminus speak well for the judgment and skill which has presided over the execution of this useful work; and it was pleasant to ob-

serve the simplicity which marked the designs of the buildings—a quality rare elsewhere, and most commendable in these regions.

Although the most interesting news communicated to us at Suez had been that we should be the first passengers by railroad from Cairo to Alexandria, we found that something was still wanting; and the non-arrival of carriages from England, or doubts of a bridge, were given as the cause by flying or lying rumour. Perhaps it was wished that the Pasha's sister, daily expected from Constantinople, should have the doubtful honour; for whose reception the greatest preparations had been made, in the shape of innumerable stars and crescents of wood, ready to receive little lamps, having been affixed to the façades of the palaces and government offices. A detention of two days permitted a renewal of acquaintanceship with the chief objects of interest near Cairo: to the Pyramids and "the wondrous Sphynx," I had formerly paid long and solitary visits, with the recollections of which a hasty gallop "there and back" would have somewhat jarred.

It was necessary to steam down the yellow brown Nile for rather more than half the dis-

tance to Alexandria, and glorious as one imagines it, in coming to the East, to spend days and nights on "the bosom of old Nile," and pleasant as were the memories connected with a long summer's night's ascent of a "high Nile," on my charming outward voyage, it was difficult to refrain from joining the universal chorus of dissatisfaction at the slowness of our progress, though ten miles an hour would have been considered rapid a few years ago. Low alluvial banks, date trees, camels, buffaloes, and mosques lose their attractions when every one is thinking of getting home as quickly as possible; and the histories of the Pharaohs, Ptolemies, and Caliphs are but dimly recalled and hastily repulsed amidst the anticipations of domestic pleasures.

The Barrage, however, was too manifest an obstruction in our homeward path not to arrest attention, and every conceivable end was assigned in a few minutes to that picturesque edifice, spanning so gracefully the rapid river: the gates are not yet fixed to this great work, so rich in prospective benefits to the Delta, and many experienced eyes augur unfavourably of the strength of this pretty

object to resist the weight of such a mass of water A passing glance whilst the vessel slowly drifted through one of the side canals would lead to the impression that it was strongly built, in which case the calculations of the designer, which it is to be presumed the Government has caused to be examined, should prove correct. Doubts of its stability were expressed by most of those with whom I conversed, who, perhaps, knew as little of the plans as I did; yet, where so much good is anticipated, regrets arise that anything should have been left uncertain in the prosecution of the work. Of its taste, the grounds of condemnation seem surer: to erect a pretty, elaborately turretted gothic bridge across a broad river, flowing through an immense plain, with no mountains, hills, rocks, or gothic inspiring groves of venerable age within sight, would appear to be against the principles of art, and contrary to the example of all who have in the olden time ruled over Egyptian architecture, the chief charms of which—grandeur and simplicity—might have been given to the Barrage of the Nile. A glance at the map of lower Egypt shows the

immense advantages of any good plan of irrigating this extensive plain; but whether the construction of the necessary works on *terra firma*, and the subsequent requisite changes in the course of the stream, would not have been a more effectual method than the erection of this expensive and perhaps useless dam in the bed of the river, is still a problem to be investigated, and great authorities are, I believe, to be cited in support of each design.

A rapid descent down the "falling Nile" brought us before sunset to the railroad station, and it was again pleasant to observe the judgment evinced in the execution of the road and the buildings on it. The carriages of first and second classes also were lofty, roomy, and comfortable; and at a pace varying from twenty to twenty-five miles an hour we were taken, with three pauses at different stations, to Alexandria in about three hours,—a distance of upwards of seventy miles, I believe.

It was night when we arrived, and the 150 passengers just landed from the different Mediterranean steampackets had taken possession of all the beds in the four large hotels. At first we were threatened with a bivouac

in the large square, in which, this chilly November evening, upon trunks, sat delicate women and children, journeying home from the sultry plains of India, in search of health and strength: gradually, however, the ladies and children were lodged in the rooms of landladies or of chambermaids, and the gentlemen were planted in rows along the tables of saloons, or thickly strewn in small rooms on mattresses placed on impromptu bedsteads.

Alexandria bears the aspect of an European town, in which Orientals traffic; and from the more numerous ships in the harbour, it would appear that it is more flourishing than during the late reign; but a feeling of the insecurity of its prosperity would seem to be prevalent, and hardly to be accounted for, unless the proposed completion of the railroad to Suez, and the fear of the carrying out of M. Lesseps' scheme for a direct canal through the isthmus, may partially contribute to this sentiment.

This latter question is much agitated; for M. Lesseps has published a small volume containing his reports to the Egyptian Government, with the professional opinions and calculations on which they are founded; and a

large staff of persons, professionally employed, had just arrived, to carry on the preliminary surveys.

Of the feasibility of the undertaking there can be little doubt; but whether M. Lesseps' scheme, involving acquisitions of land to be cultivated by the company which forms and maintains the canal, and probably leading to difficulties with future Egyptian Government, though based on accorded privileges, rather tempting to speculators, and perhaps as tempting to any future Government to annul, is one in which capitalists will readily enter, is very doubtful: a company for the formation and maintenance of the canal and its tributaries, and deriving revenues from the tolls and the water taken for irrigation, would, I imagine, with even less anticipated rates of interest to shareholders, have a more certain, if not more lucrative, business. England is always spoken of as averse to any such canal, and M. Lesseps rather insinuates that she still throws difficulties in the way of its successful prosecution; yet, though a railroad from Alexandria to Suez would, for many reasons, seem to be more popular in England, either

of these means of rapid communication with India gives a high political importance to the possession of Egypt, and from Toulon or Algiers, France, at the outbreak of a war with us, would strive to acquire the keys of either route. Still, were the canal practicable for large ships, a momentary naval supremacy in the Mediterranean would allow France to seize Egypt and to threaten our Indian possessions; whilst, if the canal was made only large enough for small vessels, the commercial cities of the Mediterranean would, perhaps, share a trade with us from which they are at present nearly excluded. This question will become a source of difficulty, if the Viceroy continues to have the affection for the scheme of M. Lesseps that he is represented to entertain; and as the railway to Suez can hardly have much influence on the prosperity of Egypt, it is worth considering what aid England can lend in advancing the really useful plans for the irrigation of Lower Egypt, to which it would not, probably, be impossible to draw the Pasha's attention — from all accounts, already turned towards more unrestricted commerce, which here can have no surer basis than the

agricultural wealth obtainable by restoring the ancient fertility of the soil of the Valley of the Nile.

It is rumoured, indeed, that the present ruler of Egypt does not feel much interest in the Barrage and other plans for the irrigation of the Delta; still diplomacy can scarcely have a more honourable task than that of winning a sovereign's favour from schemes which will inevitably lead so weak a power into dependence, if not vassalage, to measures which immediately promote the prosperity of his country, and the wealth of his treasury. The recollection of the luxuriant crops anciently borne by the now dry and sandy plains causes painful emotions to the passer through Egypt, who contemplates the magic wrought by water wherever it is introduced, and sees the swiftly flowing river running unused to the sea, with its rich alluvial freight. To a resident, or to those born in the country, the constant rolling by of the golden brown tide may sound less mournfully, but to me it ever "the melancholy burden bore" which the unenjoyed gifts of Heaven cause.

Much has been done to enable Alexandria

to resist an attack if its batteries were properly armed, and if the Egyptians can defend works as well as the Turks have done at Silistria and Kars; but I suspect, from a rapid glance, that heavy guns and—probably good gunners—are not numerous, and that even the maintenance of the large extent of scarps, and of the numerous cleverly placed outworks, is not sufficiently thought of. Should the ship canal through the isthmus be undertaken, the strength of Alexandria and of the Mediterranean mouth of the canal will become questions of great political importance. Impregnability from the sea might be as disadvantageous to us as openness to the first assault.

The steamer was declared to be ready for passengers on the afternoon of the 21st; and a little before sunset it steamed away from the low sandy shores of Egypt, the fresh northerly breeze intimating unmistakeably that we were leaving the East behind us, and causing a quickness of pace in walking the decks rather foreign to Anglo-Indian habits. An accident arising from the breaking of the crank, owing to a flaw in the metal, detained us twelve hours, "lying to"

against a strong breeze. Thanks to the ability and industry of the engineers and crew, a new crank was inserted, and we were enabled to proceed onwards.

On the afternoon of the 25th Malta was visible, and the steamer soon afterwards reached her anchorage in the quarantine harbour. French troops of all arms, landed from the transports *en route* to France, amicably enjoying themselves in the cafés with the men belonging to the depôts of the several English regiments in the Crimea, was a novel and agreeable sight to those of us who remembered Malta in the days of peace. The youthful appearance of our officers and men was as astonishing and less pleasing; for few seemed to have arrived at the fit campaigning age, at which the constitution, being at its best, can afford the temporary losses which hard work and insufficient food may cause; and this reason, with many as obvious, may account for the system adopted by the wise Emperor of the French, of sending new battalions to the East, instead of drafting recruits, who have neither arrived at manhood nor acquired that discipline and regard for

the good name of a corps which the service of a few years creates, into the decimated regiments; and it should be recollected, ere it is too late, that no rumours of the reluctancy of men in following their officers have been heard until this plan of reinforcement by recruits of a few weeks was adopted.

Unhappily, it is an unpopular and misunderstood proceeding in our service to speak of evils, not of the first magnitude, at the moment, and even the irremediable losses of men and treasure, which have been occasioned by the system of waiting for the lessons of sad self-experience, will not make us docile to reasoning founded on former wars. Who amongst us would have the courage of incurring the hatred which a criticism of the evidence before the two military commissions of 1837 and 1854, illustrated by the late campaigns, would arouse; or which an exposure of the bland arrogance with which suggestions founded on cotemporaneous occurrences abroad were met, would inspire?

It was gratifying to observe that the teachings of the war had not been lost on the

able and enlightened governor of Malta, as evidenced by several works in progress, an exposure of which at the present moment, before the eyes of our quicksighted allies, argues the manly confidence which repairs whilst acknowledging weakness; and as I believe that we shall have to reform our defensive works all over the globe, peculiar advantages and responsibilities point to the governor of Malta,—a place long considered as the *chef d'œuvre* of our engineering talent,—as the proper leader in the conversion of our fortresses *à la Louis Quatorze* into the prouder ramparts which defy the approaches of "wooden walls."

The crowded state of hotels and lodging-houses, and the numbers thronging the picturesque streets of Valetta, seemed to testify that this island capital is no sufferer by the war, which hurries so many regiments past it, and new buildings, almost worthy of their vicinity to the noble auberges of the days of the knights, were rising in many places.

One circumstance strongly impresses the traveller from the East, viz., the want of shade on the façades of even the grandest specimens

of Maltese architecture: it would seem that the knights had come from cold climates, and had introduced the large windows and unrelieved fronts to admit as much light and heat as possible: the courts indeed, in the interior of the larger houses, and the narrowness of the streets, possibly prevent much inconvenience being felt; but the glare from long exposed façades must be intolerable in the lengthened summer days. The exterior of the palace of the grand master, now used as the Government House, for example, seems as if copied from a design for the latitude of St. Petersburg.

The coaling of the steamer was completed in about twelve hours, and we then resumed our voyage westwards. After a favourable passage of four days and a few hours, we saw the light on Europa Point, and were shortly again at anchor. We were enabled to get ashore for two or three hours the following morning, to ramble over the Rock, whose summit was shrouded in the heavy dark mists with which a Levanter invariably enwraps it. I had passed three summers happily at Gibraltar, and was curious to observe the alterations which, during an absence of three years, had

been made, as I was formerly sceptical of the reputation of great strength which it enjoys. I sought with additional anxiety for the new works which were to cover deficiencies or weaknesses, acknowledged even by those who thought most highly of its defences. Every Englishman is so proud of our possession of Gibraltar, a pride increased by serving in its garrison even in time of peace, that to question its impregnability is almost an insult: yet I believe that in two, if not three, essentials of defence it is still deficient; and that however concealed from, or unknown to, Englishmen, the Spanish and French bureaux of war have a perfect knowledge of these weaknesses. As long as we are so super-eminently mistress of the sea that on all points, and at the same time, we can trust to naval superiority, the defensive power of Gibraltar may be limited to security against an attack from a fleet in temporary command of the Straits. Is it quite secure against the artillery of a large fleet? The repulse of an attack may be trusted to the heroic courage of the British soldier, but as a question of artillery *behind* stone walls, against artillery covered by

wooden walls, has military science placed Gibraltar in the position of superiority against naval batteries enjoyed by Cronstadt or Sebastopol? Why not? Who have resisted the introduction of new arrangements of batteries? Similar queries might be put endlessly, and can be as flippantly answered as heretofore; for in the day of disaster, England magnanimously forgets to punish the parliamentary mystifier, or the professional obstructive, who have repelled innovation, and cleverly quieted its promoters.

I had hoped to point out to my fellow voyagers from the East the advantages derived here from planting rugged and bleak hill sides with hardy shrubs, requiring little moisture; but, to my regret, I found that little, if anything, had been done. The wild fig, which grows luxuriantly along the shores, would not only, I imagine, have a beneficial sanatory effect upon the atmosphere of the Rock, but from its indestructibility by fire, and from the huge thorns it presents to the too hasty approacher, would increase the difficulty of scaling the hill sides. The idea of planting the abrupt and arid slopes is an old one, and there may be objections to it which I am ignorant of.

A little before noon on the 1st December, we steamed out of the Bay, and, running before the freshening Levanter, overhauled the numerous ships scudding through the Straits, passing close to the romantic wall-girted Tarifa, and within sight of the low shores of Trafalgar. At daylight the following morning the bold cliffs of Cape St. Vincent were lighted up by the rays of the rising sun, and before it set we had seen the white palaces and forts of Lisbon, and the picturesque castle which crowns the hills of Cintra,—hills which, towards the sea, present a black and rocky aspect, strangely at variance with the ideas of luxuriant fertility the name conjures up.

> "Lo! Cintra's glorious Eden intervenes,
> In variegated maze of mount and glen."

A distant view of the light on Cape Finisterre, a delay of a couple of hours to repair a small steam pipe which had burst, a rapid passage across the Bay of Biscay, comparatively smooth and tranquil, and on the fifth morning the low chalky hills of England were in our sight; and glad I was to land that evening at Southampton, after an absence of nearly six years.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

On the Repulse at Petropaulski.— Its Causes, unknown to the Public, mystified. — Losses caused by this System. — The Question to be Answered. — The apparent Incomprehensibility of this Failure. — The Operations at Petropaulski and De Castries Bay compared.

I HAVE mentioned the repulse at Petropaulski in terms which will perhaps sound strange to most people, for unhappily the un-English and unmanly policy of veiling ill success, caused by the ignorance of the art of war on the part of chiefs, is rapidly gaining ground amongst us, until the only redeeming point in the bare and stiff despatches of our leaders—their truth — can hardly be depended on in cases of failure.

This system acts fatally in two ways: — First, the responsibility of command is readily assumed by the incompetent, for they trust, in the event of mishaps, that it will be thought prudent to conceal them, — whilst the pæans for success will be chaunted, whether gained by the head or the arm. Secondly, the

professional lesson is lost upon the young who were present, and upon the absent; upon the young, because, though present, the causes of failure will only be whispered, and to an honourable mind, whispers and calumny have a close connection, and because the inevitable and invariable public punishment, which should attend professional incompetency, is not seen to follow it immediately. To the absent, the want of open and avowed documents, on which to form a judgment, is a bar to any teaching from even the bitterly bought experience of their comrades.

It is to be wished that one of the officers present at Petropaulski last year, 1854, should write an account of the steps taken on that occasion: the problem was a simple question of the readiest means of silencing the fire of a frigate, of a transport, and five uncasemated, open, and small barbette batteries of earth, by ships mustering a great superiority of guns.

The enemy's position was a good one; but the batteries were designed, traced, built, armed, and worked by naval officers and seamen, assisted by the few troops under the Governor of Kamtschatka, who was also a naval officer, and the chief portion of the guns in the batteries were taken from the broadside of the frigate which she could not make use of in the position she occupied. Notwithstanding all I have heard from English and French naval officers, with the plan before me, it is still inconceivable that four frigates,

a steamer, and a brig, should have failed in silencing the enemy's guns, or that, however ill-conducted or disorderly the landings may have been, that they should have miscarried.

Such failures, unless properly sifted, cause hesitation in the future approach of works of even insignificant profiles, and raise doubts of the propriety of landing on occasions when success is almost certain.

It was the same Russian frigate which we saw this year in De Castries Bay, but the superiority of guns, as well as of position, was, on this rencontre, on her side; for with the corvette, steamer, and transports at anchor near her, 106 guns could be opposed to the 69 mounted by our frigate, corvette, and brig, and there was no survey of the bay in our hands, to allow a secure entrance to be effected: whereas Belcher's exquisitely finished survey of Petropaulski and Awatska Bays, and upwards of 210 guns against less than 70, placed the allied assailants in the latter waters in an enviable position.

On one occasion everything seemed to promise, if not ensure, success to the attack; whilst in De Castries Bay every superiority, save of seamanship and of courage, was on the defensive side.

APPENDIX II.

Suggestions for future Operations in the Gulf of Tartary.—Whence good Charts are obtainable.—Description of Ships to be used—Light Steamers with heavy Guns.—Colliers.—Blockade of Northern Entrance to the Gulf of Amùr.—The Employment of Troops seemingly useless.—Hopes of early News from Gulf of Tartary.—Lesson taught last Spring.

THE attempts to enter the Amùr having failed, it may be permitted me to make a few remarks on the course to be pursued in any future operations, as the Russian ships can scarcely be allowed to remain unmolested or unblockaded, in a position from which a sally against our trade is so tempting: putting aside all considerations of the political advantages to be gained by weakening the ascendancy our adversary has obtained over China and Japan from his extension of conterminous territories.

Good charts of the two entrances into the Amùr are it is believed in the possession of the Dutch Admiralty, and it is to be presumed that the employment of the proper agency would obtain accurate copies before the commencement of the next campaign in May. The description of ships to be employed is a point on which a landsman has no apparent right to enter. Shallow waters, short seasons for operations, shores defended by guns of whose range and capabilities we

possess sufficient information, are probably the chief obstacles to forcing the southern entrance — that earliest open, if not the only practicable one. Common sense would suggest that steamers of light draught, carrying guns of the extreme range obtainable, supported by steam-frigates, accompanied or followed by colliers, are the readiest means by which a power commanding the sea can crush a weak naval foe, sheltered in shallow waters, and from whom all succours by sea are cut off. What was the plan adopted?

A demonstration, or at most the blockade — by two screw corvettes — would appear sufficient for the northern mouth, unless better information received from charts or Mantchoo Tartars lead to a supposition that a practicable entrance exists from the Sea of Okhotsk,— a supposition, indeed, to which all the physical data procurable at first seemingly tended.

All operations by land, in a country without roads or settled inhabitants, and thickly wooded, are out of the question, supposing even that troops could be landed in sufficient numbers to cope with the large force which next spring would probably be brought down the Amùr from Irkutsk, or the centre of Eastern Siberia.

There is yet a hope that all such speculations are futile, and that the intrepidity, judgment, and good fortune of the young and active commodore lately sent back to the Gulf of Tartary, has, ere this, gained

the prizes which his sagacity and zeal had once before placed within the reach of the English squadron. A few weeks will bring the result of an advance made so tardily as almost to forbid all hopes of success. Should the talents and ardour of officers and men lose the prize they deserved, it is to be desired that next spring our squadron should be early in the field, to prevent a repetition of the opening scene of the late campaign in the Pacific,—the escape of the enemy's ships before the arrival of the blockading squadron.

THE END.

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Pocket and the Stud 9
Practical Horsemanship 9
Richardson's Horsemanship . . . 19
Stable Talk and Table Talk . . . 10
The Stud for Practical Purposes . . 9
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" The Horse 24

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" Second ditto 18
Richardson's Arctic Boat Voyage . . 18
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